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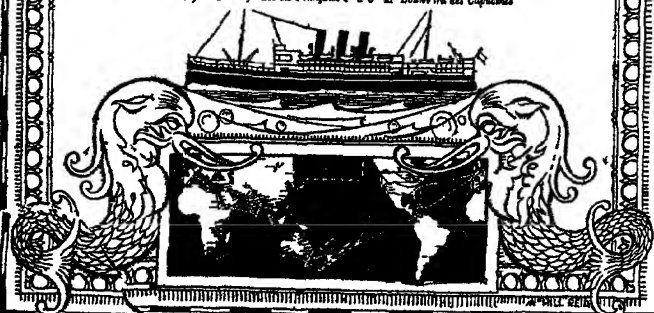
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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*JANUARY, 1923*

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## SIKHISM AND THE SIKHS

By "LAICUS"

SIKHS comprise somewhat less than one-eighth of the twenty-five millions which form the population of the Punjab. Recent events have drawn a good deal of attention to their community, the importance of which depends, not so much on its numbers, as on the prestige attaching to its religious and political history. Some light may be thrown on the present situation by a consideration of that history, which cannot, however, within the limits of an article, be detailed, but must confine itself to salient features. The history falls into two fairly distinct portions—a period of purely religious reform, followed by one in which the Sikh community, as a militant and theocratic body, obtained political ascendancy throughout the region now known, geographically and administratively, as the Punjab.

Nának, the founder of Sikhism, was born in A.D. 1469, of a Hindu Khatri family of the Punjab, at Talwandí, now known, in his honour, as Nankána—the scene of a horrible massacre, in the early part of 1921—near Lahore. He came under theistic religious influence, traceable to southern India, the home of orthodox Hindu pantheism and dualism, whence it was carried northwards by the Hindu saint Ramanand, who settled at Benares about the year 1400. Among his followers was a Muhammadan weaver, named Kabir, who combined the Vedantist-Hindu views of Ramanand with more robust elements derived from his own Islamic creed. Rejecting caste, the authority of orthodox Hindu philosophy, and the idea of incarnation,

he condemned idolatry, while emphasizing the need for worship and a personal devotion to the Deity, and insisting on the Unity of God and the equality of men. Purity of life, he maintained, was of greater value than ceremonial. Kabir died in 1518, twenty years before Nának, who was his contemporary. Nának's mind had been broadened by distant travel, which is said to have extended beyond the confines of modern India. His teaching contained much the same elements as that of Kabir, who may be regarded as his spiritual forerunner. While Muhammadan influence, especially of the mystic and pantheistic type to be found in Sufism, is recognizable in Nának's utterances, it is less in evidence than in those of Kabir, but his system, though infected by Hindu pantheism, is clearly monotheistic while devoid of formal theology. Caste he discarded, as well as Brahmanical supremacy and the domestic usages of Brahmanism prohibiting idolatry and pilgrimages, but accepting the doctrine of transmigration. He laid stress on the function of the *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, and, as such, himself claimed to be an incarnation of the Deity. His teaching was entirely devoid of all political content, nor did he aspire to found a new religion: he was, rather, a critic and a reformer of existing religions. Nevertheless, an ascetic circle, subsequently known as the order of *Udíses*—the *sad ones* or those *indifferent to the world*—arose among his followers, in his lifetime or shortly after. Its object was the maintenance of his teaching in its pristine purity, but it has, in fact, developed into a link between Sikhism and orthodox Hinduism, recruits from all Hindu castes being received into it. It presents the usual features of a Hindu order, but combines these with a profession of adherence to the reformed tenets of Nának, while ascetic celibacy, though an ideal, is not by any means uniformly practised. The order furnishes most of the managers, or *mahants*, of the Sikh shrines, which have been the subject of recent trouble.

Nának died in 1539, and between that date and 1708

there followed a line of nine gurus. It is not possible to notice here more than the salient points of this period of Sikh history. The first event of importance was the excavation, in 1577, of the Sacred Tank—*Amrit-sar*, the Pool of Immortality—and the erection of the Golden Temple by the fourth guru, Ram Das, on a spot round which subsequently grew the city of Amritsar, with a population of 160,000. The site was originally a piece of waste land granted to the guru by the Emperor Akbar. The Tank and the Temple constitute the religious centre of Sikhism. The first germs of the future political and military importance of the Sikh community appear with the fifth Guru, Arjan, but his chief title to fame is his compilation of the *Adi-Granth*, the Holy Bible of Sikhism. It contains compositions by Nanak and his successors, and also hymns by many famous Hindu, and a few Muhammadan saints, including Kabir. The language is mainly old Punjabi and Hindi, though Persian and various Indian dialects also appear, while it is written in a special character, *Gurumukhi*—the utterance of the guru—which is an adaptation from the Sanskrit. There is a second volume, known as the *Granth of the Tenth Guru*, Gobind Singh, consisting mainly of his compositions together with some other material, but, though the object of reverence, it has not the same authority and prestige as the *Adi-Granth*. Guru Arjan appears to have taken some more or less indirect part in the politics of his time, for we learn that in consequence of assistance rendered to Prince Khusrú in a rebellion against his father, the Mogul Emperor Jahangir, Arjan was imprisoned, and died under torture, though not before he had warned his son and successor, Har Gobind (1606-1645), to provide himself with a military force.

The advice was followed, and the new guru was soon surrounded by a formidable body of armed men, recruited from the stalwart and virile peasantry of the Punjab. Needless to say, there followed frequent collisions with the Mogul authorities, culminating in a systematic persecution



of the Sikh community by the Emperor Aurangizib, and the martyrdom of the ninth guru, Tegh Bahadur, at Delhi in 1675 *Sanguis martyrum, semen ecclesia*, though in this case the martyrs were usually not of the unresisting type Tegh Bahadur had travelled extensively in southern and eastern India, and had spread the tenets of Nānak in those countries

The martyr was succeeded by his son, Gobind Singh, born at Patna in 1666, the tenth, the last, and the most famous of the line of gurus, under whom the definitely militant character of Sikhism was assumed. The young guru was only ten years of age at the time of his father's death. For a period of nearly twenty years the town of Anandpur, founded by his predecessor in the hilly tract at the south-eastern corner of the present Hoshiarpur district, afforded him a secluded retreat. Close to it, on the summit of a high hill, stands a shrine of the Hindu goddess Kālī, to which Gobind Singh often resorted as a worshipping pilgrim. During his retirement the Tenth Guru matured his plans for a reformation of the Sikh community, which should transform it from a body merely following a religious rule of life into a military brotherhood, and should secure the establishment of an independent and theocratic Sikh power upon the ruins of Mogul rule. In an assembly at Anandpur, held about the year 1700, he proclaimed his mission, and at the same time took the momentous and pregnant step of instituting the *Khālsa* (the pure), or Church of the Elect, with an initiatory baptismal rite of *pāhul* and a sacramental communion of holy food (*karā prasād*)—both perhaps suggested by Christian practice. Initiates took, and still take, the appellation of Singh (*Sanskrit* *Siṃha*, or lion). The scene of the baptism of the first five disciples at the hands of the Guru himself, and of his own, is still marked by the Kesgarh shrine at Anandpur, the birthplace of the *Khālsa*. It was not the Guru's purpose to abrogate the teachings of Nānak, but rather to *inaugurate further reform*, within an existing reformation,

in the direction of more pronounced differentiation between Sikh and Hindu, while imbuing the first with a definitely separatist communal spirit. Like Nának, he did not insist on asceticism, and with him he inculcated purity of life but in place of quietism he preached the value of military prowess, brave deeds of arms, and loyal devotion to the new fraternity. Caste he not merely condemned, but prohibited entirely, and instituted full social equality among the followers of the Khálsa. The practice of widow-burning (*sati*), female infanticide, the consumption of tobacco, and the cutting of hair were forbidden, while the use of alcohol was disapproved—a matter in which his modern followers do not obey the injunctions of their founder. The eating of flesh, provided that the animal is killed with a single blow or jerk, is not prohibited, though to some extent Hindu usage in this matter has been adopted. To the more purely religious content of Sikhism Gobind Singh made no notable contribution. The monotheistic theology of Nának and of his successors was maintained and, if anything, emphasized. All Singhs were enjoined to wear on their persons five badges, the Punjábí terms for which all began with the letter *k*—they are the *kés*, or uncut hair of the body, the *kára*, or iron bangle, the *kachh*, or short drawers, the *khanda*, or miniature dagger, and the *khanga*, or comb. Most of them have some martial significance.

By no means all the followers of Nának enrolled themselves in the young Khálsa. Abstentions among their leaders, caused by apprehension regarding the radical social equality inculcated by the Guru, were numerous. The result has been that the term Sikh has suffered, and still suffers, from a good deal of ambiguity. In common parlance it covers both the Singhs of the Khálsa as well as those non-initiates who still follow the precepts of Nának but at various periods the latter have shown a tendency to coalesce, in greater or less degree, with the ordinary Hindu, retaining, on the one hand, the religious ideas of Nának

and, on the other, reverting to the practice of Hindu usages. Within the Khalsa Gobind Singh collected, perhaps by way of a personal bodyguard, and as a part of the regal state which he affected, an inner circle of more zealous disciples who received the title of Akális, or those specially devoted to the service of the Deity (*Akál*, or the Timeless One). The word has since, and especially at the present time, come to be applied to those members of the Khalsa who are conspicuous for devotion, and, it may be added, for fanaticism. In the recent troubles it has been freely utilized in the latter sense. The proclamation of the new dispensation, though it did not appeal to many of the pre-existing Sikh community, rapidly gained a large body of recruits among the sturdy Jat peasantry of the Mánjhá and Doába tracts of the central Punjáb, and it was not long before the young Khalsa came into conflict with the neighbouring highland Hindu chiefs, as well as with the military power of the Mogul. After heavy fighting the Guru was forced to abandon Anandpur, and, with the loss of his two sons, who were barbarously buried alive by the Governor of the fortress of Sihhind, to retreat across the Satlaj to the desert fastnesses bordering on Rajputana, which are now included in the Patiála, Nabha, and Jind States, and contain large numbers of a virile peasantry who are followers of the Khalsa. There, after further severe fighting, the Guru succeeded in securing a safe refuge, where for a time he installed himself with some degree of regal state. After the death of Aurangzeb a reconciliation was effected with his successor, Bahadur Shah, and the Guru appears to have accepted, for some rather obscure reason, a post under the Mogul in the Deccan, where he met his death at the hands of a Pathán assassin in 1708. His last injunction was that he should have no successor in the sacred office, but it was coupled with the promise that he and his predecessors would thenceforth dwell spiritually in the holy Granth and in the Khalsa, which for this purpose should mean the presence of five disciples.

The limits of this article render it impossible to give more than the barest *résumé* of the long and interesting history of the fortunes of the Khálsa between 1708 and the British annexation of the Punjáb in 1849. Its outstanding feature is that the Khálsa grew in military and political power, and ultimately to complete domination in North-Western India, amid the progressive dissolution and dismemberment of the Mogul Empire—a process largely caused by repeated Afghan invasions, beginning with that of Nadir Shah in 1739, and ending with the eighth irruption of his successor, Ahmad Shah Abdali, in 1768. During that period the Punjáb was the scene of a fairly continuous triangular duel between the invading Afghan, the marauding and turbulent Sikh, and the feebly defensive Mogul, though for all practical purposes of government the province was torn from the Empire about 1755. Amid this perennial chaos the fortunes of the Khalsa fluctuated. Twice was Amritsar sacked, and twice was the Golden Temple, its Holy of Holies, desecrated and destroyed by the soldiery of Ahmad Shah. On the other hand, Sirhind, a provincial centre of Mogul administration, was twice sacked by the Sikhs, who on the second occasion, in 1761, utterly destroyed the town, accursed in their eyes as the scene of the martyrdom of their Guru's sons. The grip of the Afghan was relaxed after 1767, and in the position which then emerged we find the Sikh Khálsa forming a loose confederacy of twelve more or less definitely localized associations, centring round Amritsar as its headquarters. These associations—the famous Sikh *misl*s—carved the province into spheres of influence for the levy of tribute as well as for general purposes of rapine and loot, and, incidentally, into quasi-private estates for the stronger characters who were able to assert themselves as leaders (*sirdárs*). Small wonder that the word *Sikhásháhi* (Sikh rule) should still be a synonym in the Punjáb for political and social chaos.

In 1780 was born Ranjit Singh, a member of the

*Sukarchakia misl*, which was located in the neighbourhood of Lahore. By birth a Jat, between 1798 and 1810 he secured political domination over all the territories occupied by the *misl*s of the Khálsa north of the Sutlej. He was proceeding to carry out a similar process in the country to the south of that river, but was foiled by the firm attitude of the British Government, which, on application for protection from the southern *misl*s, forbade the Maharaja, as he had by that time become, from any attempt to consolidate his power over them. The prohibition was definitely and finally accepted by him in the Treaty of Amritsar, concluded in 1810, and the territories of the southern *misl*s remained under British protection, which was followed later on by annexation, except in the case of certain states, including Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, which were granted independence under British suzerainty. Foiled in attempted aggression towards the south by a treaty to which he loyally adhered as the firm friend and ally of the British Government, the Maharaja turned his attention to the northern and western parts of the Punjáb, including the trans-Indus frontier. By 1820 he had brought all these under political subjection by means of a regular army, organized and disciplined on European lines with the help of French officers. Under the social and economic conditions of the time, the scope for regular civil administration was, of course, small, and Ranjit's government was naturally of a primitive type, mainly confined to the collection of revenue, with the maintenance of some semblance of law and order, to a degree which depended on the efficiency of his local governors. Such was the political state in which the spirit of the Khálsa embodied itself.

On the death of the Maharaja in 1839, disorder and dissolution rapidly set in, culminating in 1845 in the unsuccessful attack by the army, or *dal*, as it was termed, of the Khálsa, on British territory across the Sutlej, which is known as the First Sikh War. The British, though victorious, abstained from annexation of the whole of

the Khálsa territories, contenting themselves with that portion only, known as the Doaba, which lay between the rivers Sutlaj and Biás. For the rest a Sikh regency, aided by a British resident, was set up on behalf of Ranjit Singh's young heir, Dhulip Singh, but the arrangement did not last long. It was terminated by active dissatisfaction, on the part of several of the former Khálsa leaders, with the novel régime of law and order—an attitude which took the overt form of a rising, resulting in the Second Sikh War of 1848-49. The story of that momentous and hard-fought struggle cannot be told here: it ended in the definite annexation of the Punjáb to the British dominions in March, 1849. Thus was the militant Khálsa at last united in one political system, but under the ægis and the rule of an alien Power.

In the early years following the British conquest the spirit of the Khálsa, under the shadow of defeat, declined in vitality, but the memorable part played by Sikh troops, recruited in the Punjáb, in helping to retain India for the Crown in the great Mutiny of 1857, led to a period of resuscitation. The era of peaceful progress, social and economic, which followed was not an environment which was favourable to a vigorous survival of martial traditions, and a reaction towards Hinduism set in. Sikhs remained not less numerous than before, but the tendency was to be content with the reformed faith of Nának, while the number of initiates into the more strenuous path, marked out by Guru Gobind Singh for his Khálsa, began to diminish, though the rule requiring all Sikh recruits for the Indian army to take the *páhal* was a powerful factor in keeping alive Sikhism of the Khálsa type. But since the opening years of the present century the tide has again begun to flow. On this occasion, however, movement has originated, not in a period of militancy or of social and political dissolution, but as the result of contact with an alien culture. Throughout India that contact has provoked many, if not most, religious communities to a process of self-criticism,

not, perhaps, fully admitted nor recognized as such, or, if so recognized, then with a certain feeling of resentment against the alien standard which has thus obtruded its provocative presence. The self-criticism has led to revision and reframing of ideals, to a desire to set the religious, social, and economic house of the community concerned in order, in the light of alien standards of culture, without, however, adopting those standards *en bloc*. A more or less dim insight into the meaning and end of education has played a prominent part in the process. To a community, such as that of the Sikhs, endowed with a fairly definite communal consciousness, as the result of its peculiar history and traditions and its more or less pronounced separation from other surrounding communities, the process has appealed with special force. Since the closing years of the last century a cult of the Sikh community, as such, has arisen, and in it the traditions of the Khálsa, unsuited though some of them may be to an era of established government, have played a prominent part. The community has been striving to come to the front, to take a place in the province worthy of its political and religious history and traditions, to avoid being left behind in the path of Indian nationalization. The spirit of revival has been shown in the establishment of a council for the general direction of the religious affairs of the community, or *panth*, as it is termed, which is known as the Chief Khálsa Dewan—*Dewan* meaning assembly—and has its headquarters at Amritsar. It is, in some sort, a resuscitation of the *gurumatta*, or general assembly of the early days of the Khálsa, and is on an elective basis. To it are affiliated local committees of the same general nature, which are called Khálsa Dewáns in the important towns and Singh Sabhas (associations) in villages. The general aim of the organization is to promote the cultural, material, and political interests of the Sikh Khálsa community, but during the recent troubles it has lost much of its influence and authority, which have passed into the hands of the

more extreme progressive politicians. The chief educational institutions of the community is the Khálsa College at Amritsar, while it has many schools in the province. Another indication of the growth of a communal consciousness was afforded by the promotion by the representatives of the community in the provincial legislature of a Bill to legitimize a special form of Sikh marriage. The measure passed into law as the Anand Marriage Act in 1909. Another Sikh measure, prompted by similar motives, was an Act for the prevention of juvenile smoking, which was passed a few years ago. The community, again, pressed strongly for specially liberal representation in the reformed councils, on the strength of the prestige attaching to its historical and traditional position in the province, a demand which was partially satisfied. The more enthusiastic and zealous adherents of the Neo-Sikhism of the Khálsa append to the latter term the epithet *Tat*—that is, pure—the *Tat Khálsa* thus signifying the pure or original Khálsa of Guru Gobind Singh.

As regards social composition, the Sikh community is mainly recruited from the agricultural Jat tribes of the Punjáb, though Khatri, Aroras, and Ramgharias form minor but still important elements. The Jat is a peasant, and generally a sturdy, frugal, and industrious cultivator, slow-witted, but withal acquisitive, fond of money, and enterprising in the pursuit of it. He makes a brave and hardy soldier, as may be inferred from the history of the Khálsa, but in order to bring out his sterling qualities he needs to be under a kindly but masterful discipline. Under a régime lacking in vigour or decision, or in a novel social environment, to which he is not accustomed, he is prone to lose his moral and intellectual bearings, and to indulge in extravagances of thought, of speech, and of action, which his somewhat narrow and limited mentality is unable to restrain. The Aroras and Khatri are mainly urban classes, and are chiefly engaged in trade and in the professions. They are of a considerably higher order of



intelligence and general mental ability than the Jat, and, as might be expected, have been caught up into the existing currents of Indian political thought and aspiration. Not so the Jat, whose innate tastes do not lie in the direction of political idealism. The Ramgharias are chiefly artisans and mechanics, urban and rural, who have some political leanings.

Amid the general striving for communal advance, which I have endeavoured to describe briefly, religious progress has naturally occupied a high position in the eyes of many devoutly minded Sikhs, who were not stirred by any particularly ardent political aspirations. In any reformation of institutional religion in India, the question of the due management of religious establishments necessarily takes an important place, since the ascetic life stands in the forefront of that religion, while such a life demands institutions professedly monastic. In India, as, indeed, has been the case in other countries, these institutions are commonly characterized, on the part of those who are charged with their direct management, by more or less grave abuses of a quasi-fiduciary position. The precise legal nature of that position is a question of considerable intricacy, but whatever it may be, it is doubtless true of the Punjáb that in many, though by no means in all cases, the use of property gifted by pious donors for the support of religious establishments is not directed to the objects for which it was primarily intended. Sikh monastic institutions are generally attached to a shrine—termed *gurudwára* (the guru's door)—which commemorates some notable act or experience of a guru, or perhaps covers the cenotaph which contains his ashes, or those of some other famous religious personality. Such institutions are managed in many, if not in most, cases by members of the Udási order, to which I have already referred as occupying a position intermediate between orthodox Hinduism and the Sikhism of the Khálsa. As regards some at least of its members, the Neo-Sikh movement originally included among its aims the

reform and purification of the management of these institutions. But this development, perfectly defensible in itself, has been captured by the more extreme politically-minded members of the Sikh community, chiefly of the Arora and Khatri castes, and is being exploited by them for purely political purposes, in close conjunction with those who have been long engaged in virulent and disastrous agitation in other parts of India. The character of that agitation it is not possible to discuss fully at the end of this article. The sentiment which dominates it—from which, indeed, it springs—is racial antagonism to alien domination, political and cultural, venting itself in large and ill-considered demands for radical, not to say revolutionary, political reconstruction on professedly democratic lines of modern type though these are, in reality, very foreign to the innate political instincts of India. To that sentiment not a few Neo-Sikhs of the Punjab have fallen victims, after having come into contact with the general current of thought prevalent among progressive Indian politicians, of the more extreme type, in other parts of the continent.

Those politicians have been quick to perceive that a movement for monastic reform, innocuous in itself, might without much difficulty be turned into a powerful instrument for politically subversive and revolutionary agitation, if only the element of lawless violence could be introduced by appeals to the religious sentiments and traditions of an impulsive community. Such has been the line of action selected for themselves by the more extreme Sikh political leaders of the urban professional and trading classes, in close co-operation with, and in some cases with the active assistance of, the more violent agitators of other provinces. In pursuance of this policy, forcible seizures of *gurudwāras*, accompanied by ejection of the managers, have taken place, and other forms of lawlessness have been perpetrated, while the malcontents have had a considerable measure of success in arousing the dormant fanaticism of the Sikh peasantry by inflammatory and mendacious

propaganda The more extreme Indian exponents of racial antagonism and hatred are prepared to use any and every practicable weapon for the vilification, the embarrassment, and the ultimate paralysis of an alien Government Of this the present Punjáb *gurudwára* agitation is a conspicuous example, fomented, as it has been, by a body which appears to be nothing more nor less than a revolutionary committee, sitting at Amritsar, and usurping the functions of the duly constituted organs of the Sikh community The policy which suggests itself, as obviously appropriate to the situation, is resolute and drastic action against every form of seditious propaganda and incipient revolution, coupled with the provision of all reasonable legal facilities, by legislation if necessary, for the due and early execution of monastic reform

## THE NEAR EASTERN RIDDLE

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### I THE TURKISH QUESTION

BY MAJOR-GENERAL LORD EDWARD GLEICHEN

BROADLY speaking, the object of the Lausanne Conference now sitting is to effect a peaceful settlement in the Near and Middle East, acceptable to all Powers concerned and leaving as few sore memories as possible behind it. In view of the conflicting interests at stake this is verily a herculean task, which besides strength necessitates both understanding and tact in the highest degree.

Let us deal here only with Turkey.

Turkey has to be given frontiers inside which to develop her new national consciousness, she must be helped by unselfish European advisers and encouraged to trade with the world, yet without being exploited by one nationality more than another, she must be led to treat her Christian minorities with consideration, as long as they behave themselves and do not intrigue against her, she must lay down a system of justice which will be acceptable to all nationalities, and she must allow passage to trading-vessels—at all events in peace time—through her Straits.

Let us try to lay down the broad lines.

Bulgaria has to be given an outlet to the Ægean for her trade, and induced to live quietly with her neighbours.

Greece has to learn that she is not such a great Power as she imagined, and that she must not rely in practical matters on the vapourings of well-meaning, but totally uninstructed, Philhellenes in the West of Europe. Her coat, in short, must be cut according to her cloth, she must be taught that she has quite enough country already to deal with, and that the sooner she brings it into order the better.

Russia must be allowed to have her say in the matter of the Straits, which, after all, are of vital importance to her, she must be prevented from obtaining an unnatural influence over Turkey, and must be restrained from taking advantage of the Conference to push her Bolshevik intrigues

The rights of the Arab peoples must be safeguarded, whether against the Jews in Palestine, the French in Syria, or the Turks or even British in Mesopotamia

Given goodwill on all sides, these objects in course of time will be attained. But it will require the most careful steering and the greatest delicacy of handling to avoid wrecking the ship of the Conference on the rocks of intrigue and covetousness on the one hand, and intransigence and violence on the other

After all, things are not so bad. Turkey, whom our late Premier and other panic-mongers have consistently held up as the enemy of Christendom and as desirous of running *amok* in the Balkans, has, in spite of the ignorant and loud-mouthed deputies at Angora, no intention of attacking anyone if she can help it. Why should she? She has had eleven years of devastating war, has lost hundreds of thousands of her population and huge slices of her territory, has but a small army, and has no money. What she wants is to be left alone to exploit her new-found nationality and to settle down into a modernized State capable of holding her own, but preponderant in the Muslim world. Granting that at times she may not be going to work in the best way, still no State has ever been born ready-made, and she must work out her own salvation

Recent Turkish demands for the expulsion of Greeks and Armenians from her territory are, of course, worse than foolish, for these hated nationalities are absolutely necessary for the development of commerce and for the most ordinary business transactions among her people, and Turkey, being an agricultural and occasionally militant, but never a trading, community, could not possibly do

without them Nor can she do without other Christians, both as advisers in the higher tasks of government and for providing the capital necessary for her development It is therefore clear that when she comes to grips with the real task of forming a modern State she will have to recognize that it cannot be done by Turks alone, and will have to turn to others for help

And here it is that she will turn, eventually, to her old friend England Turkey is already getting tired of France, whose professions of amity, she is beginning to see, were mostly based on the desire for concessions and financial exploitation on the hardest of terms Nor did the Turks, as soldiers, approve of the French (and Italians) clearing out of the neutral zones when threatened by a Turkish advance, and leaving ourselves to bear the brunt of a possible attack The Turk likes an opponent that he can respect, and the British rose high in his estimation for their sturdy action on the Straits Moreover, in a recent financial transaction, a certain concession for, say, £50,000 was offered to a French group The French tried to get it for much less, and haggled until the Turks were tired of them The latter then offered it to a British group, who, after carefully examining the matter, came to the conclusion that £50,000 would not be a sufficient sum where-with to develop the concern, and offered to provide a capital of three times that amount or more Is it surprising that the story speedily became known, and that (figuratively) there was a boom in British stock?

Provided that certain things happen, we shall not have very long to wait for a revival of British trade in the Levant, nor for British influence to make itself again felt in Constantinople But the proviso is important It is that we must treat the Turks with far-sighted sympathy in their efforts to enter into the comity of nations Troubles there are bound to be The Turkish fez is beginning to fit too tight, and with an unlimited belief in their own powers, the Angora assembly are likely to give trouble

before they quieten down. But, given that they show a desire for our friendship—as they will—and given that they make no preposterous demands, a little sympathy will go a long way. The Turk thinks a great deal of us, and a little personal hospitality and courtesy dispensed, and a few friendly letters, will effect more than many protocols.

Finally, regarding the religious question, it must be remembered that Turkey does not represent a fanatical Islam. Religion plays but a small part in their scheme of modern nationality. The Khalifate has been an appanage of their royal dynasty for the last four hundred years, and they are, consequently, determined to retain it for political purposes, in order to secure the control of the Muslim world. But although appeal has often been made, ere now, to Islam in order to stir up enmity where required against Christian nations, the Muhammadan faith is not so much ensouled among the Turks as among, say, the Arabs, and their present rulers are quite modern enough to see that their State cannot be based on the Muslim faith alone.

## II THE NEAR EAST

BY LIEUT -COLONEL A C YATE

During the four years' duration of the Great War one bond of unanimity held sway, it was the determination of each group of belligerents to issue victorious from the struggle. Once the Armistice was proclaimed, that bond of union lost its power. The United States of America, for instance, very soon made it clear that she meant to cut herself clear of all European complications. National politics are proverbially and even excusably selfish, but the conduct of the United States, both before, during, and after their participation in the war, was a signal proof that blood is *not* thicker than water. And, after all, what percentage of the blood of the population of those States is British? Canada keeps Brother Jonathan well at arm's

length. Platform oratory persistently proclaims that brotherhood of Briton and American, but there sentiment ends and business begins. Throughout the war America had a strict eye to business, and that eye has lost none of its strictness since the Armistice. Very recently Mr Child's insistence that, where American commerce goes, American naval power must be able to follow, has been acclaimed as proof of the will of the United States to associate itself with the policy of the Allies with regard to the *Ægeo-Euxine Straits*, but it will probably be found that this expression of policy commits Mr Child's Government to no responsibility.

We are here, however, to consider not the Near West, but the Near East, and at this moment the pivot upon which the future of the Near East turns is Turkey. At the close of the year 1918 the Allies, and amongst the Allies most conspicuously Great Britain, seemed to hold the destinies of Turkey in the hollow of their hands. Did anyone then doubt that the future of Constantinople and the Straits was entirely at the mercy of the Allies? And within the last few months it was *Kemalist Turkey* that seemed almost to hold the Allies in the hollow of her hand.

As far as we can judge—and admittedly we have but little solid knowledge to guide our judgment—it is the *Lloyd-Georgian policy* that paved the way to that disunion among the Allies which gave *Kemalist Turkey* that opening of which it so astutely and effectively took advantage. There are men whose names live in history as those of saviours of their country and nation, and I take it that that of *Mustapha Kemal* will live as such.

When the Allied Conference first met in Paris, it was the personal magnetism and eloquence of *M. Venizelos* that stirred and won the hearts of its members, and so paved the way for that aggressive policy in *Asia Minor*, the failure of which Greece is to-day deploring. I have before me a letter from an unofficial but expert witness of the scene which is a silent tribute to the *Demosthenes* of his



day It is perfectly conceivable that the British statesman who at a most critical moment of the war stepped in to guide his own country to victory, should see in Greece an instrument for permanently reducing Turkey to powerlessness. Time has shown that his political acumen was at fault, and indeed, the moment that Greece threw over Venizelos and brought back King Constantine should have been warning enough for him I have heard even a Turk say that, if Constantine had been wise, he would, the moment that his nation recalled him, have abandoned the policy upon which Venizelos had embarked How much more essential was it that a British statesman should stand aloof from anything in which King Constantine played a leading part! It has long been hinted, and it is now generally admitted, that the Lloyd-Georgian policy as regards Turkey and Greece had the approval neither of his Cabinet nor his Army Council Venizelos we all know, but what was the secret of the influence of Sir Basil Zaharoff? That remains a theme for uncharitable surmise

Meantime the Islamic storm was brooding and waxing mightily The two countries in this world that perhaps owed most to Great Britain for their financial and commercial development and their administrative progress, India and Egypt, were alike agitating for increased independence The result we see to-day Egypt is independent, and to the Indian claim of "India for the Indians" marked concessions have been made The fact is that to-day, throughout the world, the races which for a century or more have been content to submit themselves to the control and guidance of races of the Caucasian type, are now claiming emancipation and equality

The Indian in India and the Dominions, the heterogeneous races of Africa are developing the self-assertive characteristics which are the product of Western education and of contact with Western peoples. Mr Robert Williams, when he lectured to the Central Asian Society on the "Cape to Cairo Railway," and on the influence which

European civilization and enterprise were exercising on the African native, made it perfectly clear to his British audience that the time was not far distant when the African, like the Indian and Egyptian, would claim independence and equality with the Aryan. A quarter of a century has elapsed since Japan repudiated "capitulations," and to-day Turkey does the same

And what of the Arab? I heard my fellow countrymen, and those men of experience in Asiatic races and affairs, discussing four or five years ago the future of Mesopotamia. There was a general belief that the superfluous population of India would overflow into the long-neglected plains of the Tigris and Euphrates and revive the agricultural prosperity of the era in which Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæ flourished. A little further experience of the Arab has taught us that, if we try introducing Indian colonists, the Arab will neither welcome nor tolerate them. Both Britain and France, as soon as normal peace throughout the recently warring world had been declared, issued a joint proclamation which seemed to assume a docility on the part of the Arab which that Arab declines to endorse. Both Britain and Gaul have by this time realized that there is on the part of the Arab a spirit of and passion for independence with which they must both reckon.

The fact is that the four years which have elapsed since the Armistice was declared have worked almost miracles in the way of opening our eyes and proving to us that it is not Europe that is going to work out the salvation of the Near East, but the Near East which is, in an ever-increasing measure, going to work out its own salvation, and, in so doing, play its part in shaping the destinies of a world which, in point of civilization, is gradually approaching a more or less uniform standard. There is no doubt that railways have exercised a great levelling influence, and it may be reasonably inferred that motor transport and aeronautics will greatly extend that influence.

Arabia almost up to the present time has maintained its

exclusiveness, but the Great War has made serious inroads upon its isolation. Not to mention the railways, an air route now connects Baghdad and Cairo with Europe, and a direct air route from Cairo to Karachi, straight across Central Arabia, has been projected. Mr Philby has penetrated to points never reached by Doughty, Palgrave, Burton, Niebuhr, or Leachman, and, if opportunity offers, he hopes to penetrate still further. It is hardly to be conceived that the Arab can go back to his more or less primitive pre-war state. When one meets men of the stamp of the Emir Abdulla and his Prime Minister, who have recently visited London, one feels that the influence of Western Europe has definitely made its mark, and that Arabia cannot stand aloof from the civilization which encircles it.

My own belief is that the days of Bolshevism are numbered, and it is evident that it is not only Europe, but Asia, that has closed its doors to the admission of such a curse as it has proved itself to be in Russia. Persia and Afghanistan exclude it, and the Khanates of Central Asia have fought hard against it. As for Turkey, it must be clear to all that with the Entente and Greece hostile, and the Central Powers powerless, the Angora Government had no choice but to temporize with the Bolshevik in Russia. But there can be no stability in alliance between Turkey and Russia. Their rivalries in the Black Sea and the Caucasus will inevitably be revived. Even now at the Lausanne Conference we see M Tchicherin adopting an attitude with regard to the Straits which aims at Russia's advantage only, and is not in accord with Turkish views. Once the Turkish Empire is re-established, and as such recognized by the Great and Little Ententes, by the United States and by Japan, the political relations between Russia and Turkey will resume the form which they had in the days of the Czars, and Turkey will certainly extend no sympathy to Bolshevism.

It must be most sincerely hoped that the result of the Lausanne Conference will be the definite delimitation of the

Turkish Empire on the east—i.e., along the western frontier of Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia. It is in the British interest that the Arabs should be given time and quiet to firmly establish and perfect as far as may be their own system of government, to form and train an army of defence, and to open up commerce. Given that and the maintenance of quiet in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Persia, and Afghanistan, and a salutary check placed on Bolshevik intrigue and ambition in the Caucasus, Trans-Caspia, and Turkistan, there is reason to believe that the prosperity of the Near East will react advantageously on the welfare of the British Empire

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## IMPRESSIONS OF AN INDIAN DELEGATE AT GENEVA

BY SIR P. S. SWIVASWAMI Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

A BRIEF note of the impressions left on the mind of an Indian delegate by the third session of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva may not be without interest. The writer had not attended the previous meetings of the Assembly, and had no very distinct notions of the character of the body or of the subjects that were to be brought up for its decision. The agenda, which had been provisionally drawn up and circulated, threw but scanty light on these questions, and included subjects like Esperanto, intellectual co-operation, and others which suggested serious doubts as to the practical character of the session. One or two of his friends in the official world told the writer that the Assembly was rather a costly debating society. Add to this the fact that the most important questions immediately affecting the peace of the world, like the problems of the Near East, German reparations, the indebtedness of the Allies to each other, and the financial plight of Austria, were not to be found in the agenda, and were being dealt

with by the Council of the League or by the five Great Powers, and you can easily account for the rather disparaging notion which several of the new delegates had formed of the Assembly of the League. When the report of the Council for the last year came up for discussion in the Assembly, speaker after speaker poured forth encomiums and congratulations on the work of the Council and the League. They were so laudatory as to suggest the possibility of an unconscious exaggeration of the importance of the body of which the speakers were members. But a diligent perusal of the contents of the report and impartial observation of the work accomplished by the Assembly during this session have removed all lingering traces of scepticism, and inspired a faith in the reality and possibilities of the League.

Apart from the spectacular aspect of the Assembly, which comprised over fifty States of the Old and the New Worlds, and drew together delegates from all quarters of the globe, from China to Peru, and Norway to Paraguay, the moral significance of the gathering could not be missed even by a casual observer. The reluctance of the United States to join the League, and the absence of Germany, Turkey, and even of Russia, detract in some measure from the sphere of usefulness of the League. But making full allowance for these drawbacks, which it is to be hoped are of a temporary character, the League marks an epoch in the history of international dealings. For the first time in history the civilized States, whether small or large, have agreed to meet on a common platform and deliberate on questions of policy and administration affecting the peace and well-being of the world. A sentiment of democratic equality pervaded the atmosphere of the Assembly. The smallest State has the same opportunity for hearing and the same vote as the largest. Petty Luxembourg has the same voting strength as mighty France. It may even be open to question whether a system of representation which gives equal votes to countries irrespective of their popula-

tion and resources may not be attended with some danger of sacrifice of the interests of the many to those of the few. The possibility of any such risk is obviated by the peculiar constitution of the League, not, however, without a parallel in political constitutions. The constitution of the Council assures a permanent position to the more important Powers. Moreover, the decisions of the Assembly do not *ipso facto* become binding upon the member States without ratification by them.

Some misunderstanding seems to exist with regard to the precise relations between the Assembly and the Council of the League. While the Council is undoubtedly the executive organ of the League, it would be a mistake to suppose that it derives its authority from the Assembly and should therefore be entirely subordinate to it. On the other hand, the suggestion would be well-founded that the Council owes its existence and authority to the same fundamental document—the Covenant of the League of Nations—to which the Assembly owes its origin. According to this view, though some of the members of the Council may be elected by the Assembly, the Council is not a mere creature of the Assembly, and the limitations on its powers and functions would have to be gathered from the articles of the Covenant rather than the bare will of the Assembly. The wiser course for the Assembly is not to embark upon any attempt to make a scientific demarcation between its own powers and those of the Council, but to trust to the natural process of adaptation and evolution. No conflict has so far arisen between the Council and the Assembly. While the Council has shown a spirit of readiness to take the Assembly into its confidence in large matters, the Assembly has also displayed a disposition to trust the Council in the exercise of its powers with fairness and impartiality. The solicitude of the Council to please and placate even the small States is manifest in the distribution of its patronage, and in the disposition to find seats for the representatives of the small

States as chairmen or vice-chairmen of the numerous committees and sub-committees

The smaller States, and even the larger ones, are naturally anxious to avoid the erection of a super-State which would necessarily involve an encroachment upon their sovereign rights. This is one of the many reasons why the decisions of the League must, for a considerable time at least, continue to lack the support of physical sanctions, and why Lord Robert Cecil's idea of an international police organization appears to me to be outside the pale of practical politics in the immediate future. The Covenant of the League wisely lays stress upon unanimity, or, at any rate, the assent of a very large majority of its members, and prefers to rely on economic weapons for the coercion, where necessary, of recalcitrant individual States. The employment of physical force can be resorted to only in the last instance, and should be the outcome of a special resolution and concert rather than the automatic consequence of a preordained police administration.

Turning now to the personnel of the Assembly, its members were men with a high sense of responsibility, and animated by an earnest resolve to promote the objects of the League by giving of their best. It would be invidious to single out any names, when there were so many good men and true, and so many men of ability and ripe experience. The name of Lord Robert Cecil must, however, rise to the lips of everyone who watched the proceedings of the Assembly. A man of varied interests and broad outlook, of deep sympathies and humanitarian instincts, there was no subject, whether it was the reduction of armaments or the cultivation of Esperanto, which failed to draw forth his copious enthusiasm and energy.

The volume of work turned out by the Assembly and its committees forms a record of which it may well be proud. No one could have failed to be struck with the absence of narrow parochialism among the delegates, with their spirit of give and take, their solicitude to reach unanimity, and

their spirit of caution, which led them to postpone decisions rather than adopt hasty and perhaps erroneous conclusions

Questions specially affecting India, or, for the matter of that, any country in particular, were of course few. The question of opium traffic was originally raised in a form which involved the possibility of serious injury to Indian fiscal interests without corresponding moral benefit to China. But the resolution as passed by the Assembly avoids any such risk. By far the most important resolutions passed by the Assembly were those relating to the reduction of armaments, the protection of minorities, and the financial succour of Austria. The resolution on the reduction of armaments was very elaborate and comprehensive, taking note of all the factors involved in the policy, and it marks a milestone in the arduous march towards the goal of peace and goodwill among the nations. The impatient idealist may not be satisfied with the conclusion, but the practical politician will welcome the resolution as a necessary first step to the attainment of the ideal.

The resolution on the protection of minorities was drawn up by Professor Gilbert Murray, the representative of South Africa, and though primarily intended to deal with the rights of minorities in those States which have incurred obligations under the recent treaties, it contains a clause exhorting States not bound by such treaties to accord to minorities within their jurisdiction the same measure of justice and fairplay as the other States. Coming, as it did, from the representative of South Africa, and passed, as it was, unanimously by the Assembly, it is a valuable expression, albeit of a pious character, of the sentiment of the Assembly. During the discussion of the resolution on the administration of the mandated territories an important question was raised by the writer of this article with regard to the legal status of the "C" class mandated territories. The discussion of this point was rendered necessary by a pronouncement of General Smuts in South West Africa that the "C" class territories were annexed to the man-



datory States in all but name. The view enunciated by General Smuts is pregnant with far-reaching consequences, and it is gratifying to note that it was not shared by the Permanent Mandates Commission. The distinguished South African statesman seems to have relied upon the language of Article 2 of the "C" class mandates. But this is identical with that of Article 9 of the "B" class mandates, as to which he admits that the territories held under them cannot be regarded as practically annexed to the mandatory State. Article 22 of the Covenant treats all these territories as a sacred trust of civilization to be administered as trust estates. Though these territories were originally vested in the Allies, they divested themselves of the territories and created a trust of which the trusteeship was vested in the League of Nations. Hereafter it is the Council of the League that is ultimately responsible for the welfare of the peoples in these various territories. The methods of administration in the three classes of "A," "B," and "C" mandated territories may be different, but in every case the peoples of the territories are the beneficiaries. Two propositions of law are clearly beyond question. One is that a trustee, or an agent of a trustee, cannot treat the property of the beneficiary as his own and annex it to his own properties. It follows that the inhabitants of the "C" class territories do not become nationals of the mandatory State, but preserve their own distinct national status. The other proposition is that a mandate is essentially revocable, and if the mandatory fails in his duty he may be relieved of his charge by the trustee, who is ultimately responsible for the management.

## WAR-TIME IN THE SUDAN

BY F A EDWARDS, F R G S

[EDITORIAL NOTE —The present article is, we believe, the first that has appeared upon this subject as a whole. The light that it throws on subsequent events in adjoining countries of the Near East will no doubt commend it to our readers' special attention.]

THE European War broke out at an unfortunate time for the Sudan. In 1912 and 1913 the country had suffered from low flood and poor rains, during the first half of 1914 a shortage of dhurra, the staple food of the bulk of the native population, caused considerable distress, and in some districts of Dongola, Khartoum, and the White and Blue Nile Provinces famine conditions prevailed for a time. But the Government imported millet from India, and thus tided over the period till the harvest of the crops. After the failure of the crops caused by the low Nile in 1913, the Dongola Province was visited by a murrain of cattle and a plague of locusts. Rinderpest was very bad in Mongalla Province to the south, and in the Nuba Mountains Province the cattle-owning Arabs lost severely from pleuropneumonia among their herds. Various measures were taken by the Government to contend with these troubles, poison gas was supplied by the Wellcome Research Laboratories to destroy the locusts, action was taken to stamp out the cattle disease. One good result of this and the supply of Indian grain by the Government was that it impressed upon the natives the interest which their present rulers took in their welfare, and this was not without its effect during the critical time of the war.

The country was not free from occasional troubles with some or other of the many different tribes. Though it was fifteen years since the Sudan had been reconquered from the Mahdists, some of the more distant parts had not

yet been brought under immediate Government control, and the natives had not yet everywhere become accustomed to English rule. During 1913 and the early part of 1914 there had been a number of disturbances in different parts. An outlaw and his followers had given trouble on the Atbara River, and in a conflict with a patrol had killed Major J. L. J. Conry and three of his men, the Bedaiat Arabs of Dar Fur had raided the Hawawir and Kababish tribes of Kordofan, there was trouble with the insubordinate Nuba mountaineers, in the Bahr el Ghazal Province a party of Banda negroes attacked pilgrims and carried off women and children and property, Mandala Arabs committed highway robberies, Baggara Arabs raided the Dinkas, and there was sedition among the Niam-Niams or Zandeh in the far south, and the lawless Nuers on the Bahr el Zeraf, Sobat, and Pibor Rivers attacked the Anuaks and Dinkas.

In an enormous country of nearly a million square miles, with a population of about four millions belonging to a number of different tribes, speaking different languages and in various stages of civilization, only gradually being brought under regular government, such outbreaks were, perhaps, only to be expected. To preserve order in this vast area the total regular force available was a little over 14,000 men of the Egyptian army, composed of Egyptian, Arab, and negro regular units, distributed in forty-six garrison and military posts, with a small British force at Khartoum, consisting of a battalion of infantry and a detachment of garrison artillery. The administration was carried on by 110 British officers and officials (excluding technical staff), distributed over fourteen provinces.

The inhabitants of the northern portion of the Sudan—some two-thirds of the whole in number—were Arabs or Arabized tribes, professing the Muhammadan religion, and these might have been considered as most amenable to outside influences. The Germans hoped by dragging Turkey into the war to bring about a great Muslim

uprising in North Africa against the Italians in Tripolitana or Lybia, the French in the Central Sudan, and the British in the Eastern Sudan, relying upon the fanatical Senussi in the Northern Sahara to take a leading part in this crusade. This, if successful, would have rendered it practically impossible to hold the southern portion of the Sudan, above Khartoum, which is inhabited by negro (mainly non-Muslim) tribes. Fortunately, the general loyalty to the Government was never in doubt, a testimony to the pre-war record of the Government. At the commencement of hostilities an active propaganda, directed against Germany and her allies, was instituted, and means were taken to inform the more intelligent sections of native opinion, through their leaders and the local press, of the facts of the *military and political situation and of the ascendancy of German influence at Constantinople*. In consequence, the rupture with Turkey, which came as an unpleasant surprise to the Sudanese, found native opinion to some extent prepared for the shock to their religious susceptibilities, and there was a remarkable outburst of expressions of loyalty to the British Government by the Muslim notables and other native leaders in the Sudan.

Rains and floods in the autumn of 1914 were excellent, and the people generally, busy with the prospects of a good season, paid little heed to the outbreak of the war. A censorship was established, garrisons were strengthened where needed, and a more frequent and effective system of patrols instituted, particularly on the Red Sea coast and the Abyssinian frontier. Martial law was declared, and legislation was introduced to strengthen the hands of the Administration in dealing with emergencies and to prevent trading with the enemy. In October and November, 1914, the Governor-General (Sir Reginald Wingate), who was also Sirdar of the Egyptian army, held a series of huge public receptions at Omdurman, where he explained to the sheikhs and notables the origin and causes of the war with Germany, he afterwards made a tour of the Sudan, and

held similar receptions at Wad Medani, Sennar, El Obeid, and Port Sudan. Returning to Khartoum, he addressed the principal regimental officers there and the principal religious sheikhs and ulema. The ulema enthusiastically declared their loyalty, many of the principal Arab sheikhs, including some who had fought against us in the Mahdist cause, wrote to the Governor-General expressing their goodwill.

Whilst things were thus satisfactorily shaping in the Sudan, the Khedive of Egypt was plotting at Constantinople for a Turkish invasion of Egypt. The British Government promptly met this by deposing him and declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt on December 17, and next day Hussein Rushdi Pasha, who was known to be friendly to England, was proclaimed Sultan. There was, of course, some danger from the Muslim population and the Arabs, whose fanaticism and slave trading interests had in the past been aroused by the Mahdi against the Egyptian Government, and whom Germany and Turkey now hoped to raise against us. Sympathizers with Mahdism were not extinguished in the conquest of 1898-99, and now and again there had been attempted risings by Arab fanatics, who coloured their political aspirations with religious propaganda. In 1903 a new "Mahdi" appeared at El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, but was quickly put down.

The German objective in Africa was the establishment of a great central African empire, comprising the English, French, and Belgian possessions, so as to connect the German colonies of the Cameroons, East Africa, and South-West Africa in one enormous block—"Mittelafrika" they fondly named it. The capture of the German colonies by the Entente Powers in the early period of the war was regarded with equanimity by the Germans, who consoled themselves that the fate of the African possessions would be settled on the battlefields of Europe. Maps were printed at the Colonial Office at Berlin showing this great German "Mittelafrika," which was to swallow up the French Congo

possessions, the Belgian Congo, and British East Africa, and to extend practically from the Egyptian frontier to the boundary of British South Africa. It was a grandiose scheme, based on the writings of great German publicists, professors, and high colonial authorities. With an inflammable Muslim population in the Sudan there was a real danger in such a policy. But "the best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." Almaz Effendi, Enver Pasha's aide-de-camp, was sent from Turkey to stir up the Muhammadan element to rebellion. He landed at Port Sudan in December, 1914, and called upon the Egyptian officers to revolt. Their reply was to arrest him, he was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot.

The vulnerable point of the Sudan was on the extreme west. Dar Fur (the country of the Fors, or Furs), one of the old Muhammadan empires of the Central Sudan, which had only been conquered by the Egyptians in 1874, had not been brought under direct Government jurisdiction since the suppression of Mahdist rule. After the battle of Omdurman in 1898, Ali Dinar, one of the Emirs of the Khalifa and a descendant from a former Sultan of Dar Fur, deserted the Dervish forces and escaped to El Fasher. Here, with the sanction of the Sirdar (Lord Kitchener), he proclaimed himself Sultan, and in 1901, when he had beaten down the considerable opposition which he encountered, he was officially recognized as agent of the Sudan Government on condition of paying an annual tribute of £500. This tribute was paid yearly till the outbreak of the war, and the Sultan continued nominally to maintain friendly relations with the Sudan Government, though he would not allow Europeans to enter his territory. Dar Fur was not, therefore, under the immediate control and authority of the Sudan Government, and, apart from the tribute, Ali Dinar had been left to his own devices. The condition of Dar Fur under his rule was not satisfactory. He ruined the people to embellish his capital—where he had a fine palace built, two stories high—and reduced half the popula-

tion to a state of serfdom, filling his harem with concubines, and distributing his subjects' cattle among his favourites and the Arab merchants who brought him precious merchandise and weapons and ammunition sent by the Senussists. He had to meet conspiracies, retaliating by the execution of members of the royal house involved, and generally acted as a despot who could only maintain his position by force of arms and fear. He harassed the adjoining countries to the west and south, and more than once raided into Kordofan. He repeatedly invaded Dar Tama, adjoining Dar Fur on the west, and caused the Sultan of that country to be dethroned and a creature of his own (Othman) installed in his place. This action not only caused the assassination of Lieutenant Boyd-Alexander (April 2, 1910), which was instigated by Othman, but brought him into conflict with the French. The French had, in 1909, occupied Wadai, the defeated Sultan of which, Doud Marrah, fled to the Dar Fur borderland, and thence gained help which enabled him to continue the war and to inflict more than one serious reverse upon the French army. The French claimed Dar Tama as a dependency of Wadai, and shortly after Boyd-Alexander's death Captain Chauvelot attacked the Foran army in Dar Tama at Gereda and utterly routed it. The wretched Othman fled to El Fasher, where he was put to death by Ali Dinar for losing the battle.

A common religion naturally brought Ali Dinar into touch with the Senussi of the Eastern Sahara, from his first becoming Sultan he had had communications with the Sheikh As-Senussi, who died in 1902, and he continued the relations with his successor, Ahmed Sherif. The Senussi, a semi-religious, semi-political Muhammadan fraternity in North-East Africa, had attained a considerable influence over a wide area, and, like the Mahdists, were credited with aiming at a world empire, or, as they no doubt would term it, the submission of the world to Islam. At the outbreak of the war a Germano-Turkish Mission, headed by Nuri Bey, a brother of Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of

War, landed in Cyrenaica to organize with the Senussists an outbreak in Central Africa against the protectorates of France and Great Britain. The Grand Senussi, Ahmed Sherif, lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Nuri Bey, and sent emissary after emissary to preach revolt to the different Sultans responsible to the French and British authorities. Their exhortations were well received in Dar Fur and in the south of Wadai.

Ali Dinar was persuaded that the Sudan Government was not strong enough to deal with him, and that his chance of cutting himself free from British suzerainty had arrived. Perhaps he had been encouraged in this belief by the delay, inevitable as it was, in arriving at a settlement with the French of the questions concerning the western boundary of Dar Fur. At the instigation of the Turkish Mission he planned an invasion of the Sudan, which was to be carried out in connection with the Senussist advance upon Egypt. Copies of his Jihad against the British Government were despatched to the Sudanese and other tribesmen, urging them to cast off their allegiance to the Christians, and threatening condign punishment to all who refused to obey. Egypt was for a long time in danger from the Senussi menace. Germany urged Sidi Ahmed to invade Egypt, and the Kaiser sent him an autograph letter, written in Arabic, in which he styled himself "Allah's Envoy."

After several defiant letters, Ali Dinar, in April, 1915, formally renounced his allegiance to the Sudan Government and started a plan of invasion of the Sudan, to be carried out simultaneously with the Senussist attack on Egypt. In view of more insistent demands elsewhere, it was not convenient to take action against him immediately, but a cordon of native irregulars was established to prevent communication with the Senussi country and to intercept any caravans of arms that might attempt to pass along the *Arbain* road to Dar Fur. Towards the end of 1915 a Senussi army 30,000 strong, with a leaven of Turkish



troops and controlled by Turkish and German officers, swarmed across the western borders of Egypt, and it was not till February, 1917, that they were finally defeated and driven off. In December, 1915, Ali Dinar's attitude became so threatening that a small force of camel corps was hastily despatched to Nahud, an important trading centre in Western Kordofan. But this did not discourage the Sultan, who, in February, 1916, commenced concentrating a force on the Kordofan frontier at Jebel el Hilla. The Sirdar therefore ordered the concentration at Nahud of a force of all arms, about 2,000 of all ranks. The troops left Nahud, under the command of Lieut-Colonel P. V. Kelly, on March 16, and occupied Um Shanga, where a Forian observation post was dispersed, on the 20th. Two days later Jebel el Hilla was occupied, after preventing a movement by some 800 For horsemen. The movements of the force were facilitated by the railway from Khartoum to El Obeid, a distance of 428 miles, which had been completed on December 30, 1911. Beyond this the expeditionary force, with its stores, guns, aeroplanes, and other bulky equipment, had to proceed across a desolate tract of roadless country for nearly 400 miles farther. A makeshift motor road was prepared, over which aeroplanes and their repair shops could be taken, as well as the other supplies of the force. When this motor road was ready the camel transport was supplemented by a mechanical transport service from railhead to Nahud, by which means the rapid convoy of supplies was ensured.

The advance was made in the square formation familiar in former Sudan campaigns, over broken sandhills with much hidden ground. Large parties of enemy horsemen and camelry hovered round as the force approached the position where the Sultan's forces were entrenched, in a strong position near the village of Beringia, twelve miles north of the capital. On the morning of May 22 Kelly's force here came in contact with Ali Dinar's army, estimated at 3,600 men armed with rifles, besides a large number

armed with spears. The effective part of the Sudanese force, about 2,000, was therefore greatly outnumbered. The Sultan's troops attacked with great desperation, many of the attackers falling within ten yards of our firing-line, but in a short time the For army was broken and fled in disorder, after sustaining some thousand casualties, our casualties were five killed and twenty-three wounded. Next day Colonel Kelly's troops occupied El Fasher without opposition, and as the Sultan's troops were marching away from the south side of the capital, Lieutenant J C Slessor, of the Royal Flying Corps, circled over and bombed them.

Ali Dinar, with a greatly reduced following, fled to Jebel Marra, a tangled mass of mountains seventy miles south-west of El Fasher, which had in old times been the home of the rulers of Dar Fur. On Jebel Marra (we are told by Captain H F C Hobbs, who explored the mountain a few months later) there is a crater lake, which is regarded with much superstition and fear by the inhabitants. The Fors of the mountain say that it is haunted, regard it as an oracle, and ask it questions, the answers to which they deduce from the various colours which the water of the lake assumes in the early morning or late afternoon, when there is a considerable reflection, or when the surface of the water is troubled by the wind. To this lake Ali Dinar sent two of his officers to consult the waters as to his movements. It is said that the waters refused to let the envoys approach, and even retired before them. However this may be, the invading forces gradually closed in on the fugitives. Two posts, one to the north and the other to the south of Jebel Marra, at Kebkebia and Dibbis respectively, were formed. At the latter place, in October, Major (now Brigadier-General) H J Huddleston dispersed a force under Ali Dinar's eldest son, Zachariah. Ali Dinar's followers suffered from smallpox and starvation, and at last they were surprised and attacked by Huddleston's force at Guiba, near the western boundary of Dar Fur, on November 6, 1916. The attack was a complete surprise,

our forces getting within 500 yards of the camp before being discovered. On the capture of the camp a vigorous pursuit was started, and Ali Dinar's body, with those of some of his principal adherents, was found a mile off.

The occupation of El Fasher and the death of Ali Dinar brought to a conclusion organized resistance in Dar Fur, and left only local disturbances to be put down, and the reducing to order of the population and the protection of the country from the Senussi raiders in the north. The establishment of administration was taken in hand at once. Dar Fur was constituted a province of the Sudan, Lieut-Colonel R. V. Savile being appointed Governor. Armed bands of escaped slaves roved about marauding the country, under two former adherents of Ali Dinar, who took refuge in the little-known country to the south-west. One later crossed the Bahr el Arab and surrendered to the Bahr el Ghazal authorities, and the other found a home in French territory. The inhabitants generally readily accepted the new Government, and good progress was made with the settlement. Efforts were made to obtain the confidence of the natives and, with a very inadequate staff, to lay down the framework of government. The administration was started on the principle of maintaining and supporting the authority of the native headmen rather than of close administration. The principle worked well generally speaking, but the magisterial powers given to headmen were in some instances abused.

To the north-west of Dar Fur the mountainous regions of Ennedi and Erdi were the resort of robber bands, who from time to time made marauding excursions into Dar Fur, and even extended their raids at times to Kordofan and the banks of the Nile, hundreds of miles across the desert. Though in the French sphere, they owed no allegiance to the French, and recognized only the authority of the Senussi. The most redoubtable of these brigand chiefs was Mohammed Erbeimi, head of the Teika section of the Guraan tribe. The Guraans live chiefly in French

territory, and subsist almost entirely by raiding. In 1916 Erbeimi's band raided into Dar Fur and carried off some thousand camels. The French had in 1913 captured Borku (north-east of Lake Chad), and were operating in Ennedi against him, to co-operate with them a camel-corps force under Major (now Lieut-Colonel) T B Vandeleur proceeded to Furawia in January, 1917, but failed to get into touch with the French troops, which had already chased the robbers away to the north-west and recovered the prisoners and camels taken by them. Erbeimi, after two years of varying fortune, during which he was continually harassed by the French, finally surrendered to the Sudan Government at Furawia in December, 1918.

In Southern Dar Fur the refusal of the Beni Helba tribe to obey Government orders compelled the despatch of a small patrol into their country in January, 1918. In May some unrest was noticeable in Dar Masalit, one of the old Arab sultanates to the west of Dar Fur, which had been conquered by the Sultan of the latter country. The Sultan of Dar Masalit had been some years before captured and hanged by Ali Dinar, and the new Sultan, Mohammed Bahr el Din (commonly called Endoka), who had been installed by the French, proposed to attack the French and Sudan posts which by mutual agreement had been placed at Adre and Kereinik, on the borders of Dar Masalit, but he soon submitted to a display of force. During these operations with the French communications were facilitated by the establishment of wireless telegraphy between El Fasher and Abeshr. In September, 1921, a fanatic named Abdullahi el Soghayer, of the Masalit tribe, collected a following and attacked the Government post at Nyala, in Southern Dar Fur, which, with another post at Zalinga, had been established in February, 1917. The handful of police and native troops made a magnificent stand against the onrush of thousands, and the attack was repulsed, with the loss of 600 tribesmen killed, but Captain H Chown and Mr T McNeill and three other civil servants were

killed, and the Sudan casualties were sixty-one Abdullahi was afterwards captured, tried, and hanged at Nyala on October 28

But the new province generally was settling down under the new administration, and was now safer for traders and travellers Greek and Syrian traders had soon found their way to El Fasher from Khartoum, and pushed their operations forward to Abeshr, where they supplied the French with their stores at exorbitant prices Travellers, too, began to find their way across the country, which the traditional policy of the Sultans had so long closed to them In 1917 Commandant Jean Tilho crossed Dar Fur on his way home from Borku *via* the Nile and Egypt, in 1919 Mr Palmer, British Resident in Bornu, travelled across Wadai and Dar Fur to railhead at El Obeid in a dog-cart, and Sir Philip Brocklehurst, Commandant of the post at Kereimik, journeyed in the reverse direction across Wadai to Lake Chad, and in 1920 Commandant Audoin passed through little-known districts south of Dar Fur in a journey from Cameroons to the Nile These regions, he reported, had been so harassed by the raids of the Sultans of Dar Fur, Dar Kutu, and Dar Sila as to be in great part depopulated

It was not only on the western confines of Dar Fur that French and British forces co-operated Far away to the south, near the point where the boundaries of the French, Belgian, and British spheres meet to the south of the Bahr el Ghazal Province, a Sudan force was able to render good service to the French When the watershed between the Nile and the Congo was fixed on as a dividing-line between the French and British spheres by the agreement of March 21, 1899, it did not correspond with tribal divisions, one large tribe, the famous Niam-Niams, or Zandeh, was divided Some sections of it extended into the country which is drained by the upper streams of the Bahr el Ghazal, some sections were included in the Belgian Congo, and others in the French sphere to the north of the

Mbomu River The various sections are split up under a number of petty chiefs, or "Sultans," and one of these Zandeh chiefs, Bangazagene, in the far corner of the French sphere not far from the boundaries of the Bahr el Ghazal Province and the Belgian Congo, revolted in February, 1916, and attacked the French post at Mopoi. In the following month Major R F White, with a detachment of the Sudanese Equatorial Battalion, crossed the frontier, occupied the post from which the French had been driven, and with the Belgians aided the French in defeating Bangazagene. And in 1917 the authorities in the French Congo asked the Governor of the Bahr el Ghazal to co-operate against an outlaw named Krikri who had raided loyal chiefs, a patrol under Captain V H Fergusson patrolled the frontier, and Krikri was shortly after arrested.

There was also much fighting with the negro tribes in the Nuba Mountains and farther to the south—the Nuers, Dinkas, and Lotuko, and the far-away and untamed Turkana on the western shore of Lake Rudolf, and there were conflicts on the Abyssinian border, but exigencies of space do not allow of describing them.

## INDIANS OVERSEAS

BY HENRY S. L. POLAK

It will probably be agreed that there is no single subject upon which there is such unanimity of agreement among Indians and between them and the Government of India as the question of the status of Indians overseas. For many years it has caused the gravest anxiety to His Majesty's Government, for it contains within itself the seeds of imperial disruption unless handled with greater skill and honesty than have been used for some time past.

At the present time there are two principal danger spots—Kenya and South Africa, but there are a number of minor causes of disturbance and ill-feeling on the part of the people of India, for example, Ceylon, British Guiana, and Fiji. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between those parts of the British confederation where the British Government exercises no jurisdiction, owing to the extension of self-government and Dominion responsibility to them, and those parts which are under the direct jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. The problem and its solution differ according to the category in which the particular territory is placed. If we take, by way of illustration, the disabilities and grievances of which Indians in South Africa complain and have for long complained, we find the Colonial Office protecting itself behind the plea that it is no longer responsible, and that it cannot directly interfere with the conduct of a self-governing Dominion. This, though an unpalatable truth, is, doubtless, the correct constitutional position. But it does not satisfy India, especially when the Colonial Office appears

to take up the less strong ground that it is undesirable for it to make even a diplomatic representation to the Union Government. If that attitude be correct, it implies that His Majesty's Government can less effectively secure the protection and the welfare of His Majesty's Indian subjects in an integral part of the British Commonwealth than in a foreign country. But however valid these reasons may be in the case of self-governing Dominions, they do not operate at all in the case of territories which are under complete control from the Colonial Office. It is because this distinction is clearly realized in India that we hear so much of British hypocrisy in this matter, and it makes it easier to understand the bitter criticism of Mr Churchill's action regarding Kenya immediately after the Imperial Conference last year.

It will be remembered that at that Conference the Right Hon Mr Sastri, on behalf of India, brought forward a resolution designed to establish once and for all the position of Indians already established in the overseas Dominions, Colonies, or Protectorates. After a great deal of diplomatic negotiation a formula was agreed upon, which, after reciting the right of the self-governing Dominions and India to regulate the conditions of immigration as between themselves, admitted at the Conference of 1918, and a reference to the reforms in operation in India having as their eventual object the conferment of responsible government upon India, recommended that the status of equal citizenship should be granted to Indian settlers overseas. To this resolution all parties to the Conference, including Mr Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government, but excluding South Africa, gave their assent. It was with a view to carry out the recommendation of the Conference in detail that, at the pressing invitation of the Prime Ministers of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, Mr Sastri, at the request of the Government of India,



subsequently proceeded upon his tour of those Dominions, which has recently been successfully concluded. But scarcely had the ink dried upon the document than Mr Churchill addressed a series of proposals to the then Governor of Kenya, nullifying the very principle embodied in the resolution. No public information of the nature of these proposals was for some time forthcoming, until, in a moment of after-dinner enthusiasm, Mr Churchill announced particulars of the policy that he proposed to introduce and enforce. Mr Montagu, who was then in office, promptly, it will be recollected, repudiated the Colonial Office policy, which, he made clear, had never received Cabinet sanction. The Kenya question is still unsettled, and the Colonial Office remains under a cloud, so far as Indian opinion is concerned. It is to be hoped that the new régime will enable Ministers to discuss the matter afresh, without preconception, and with the sole object of giving effect, in the spirit as well as in the letter, to the principle of equal citizenship adopted at the last Imperial Conference. Nothing less will solve this complex problem and restore Indian confidence, so rudely shaken during Mr Churchill's tenure of office.

It is equally true to say that, until the test question of Kenya is settled, it will not be possible to settle any of the other problems associated with Indian emigration. It is useless to speak, as Sir Frederick Lugard did recently, in a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute, of diverting Indian attention to the prospects of Indian settlement in British Guiana and away from Kenya. In the first place, Kenya is much closer to India and is one of the oldest settlements from India, and a proper solution of the Kenya question is regarded as a matter of honour. In the second place, even with the bait of transferring British Guiana to the control of the Government of India, no one in India will seriously advocate Indian emigration to any overseas territory.

so long as the doctrine of equal citizenship is not loyally enforced in every Crown Colony and Protectorate. As Lord Meston pointed out in his address to the British Association, it is a real and not a paper equality upon which India will insist. Besides, the Government of India has not yet been able adequately to protect the interests of Indians who have emigrated as labourers to such near countries as Ceylon and the Federated Malay States, of which evidence was recently brought to the notice of the Select Committee on Emigration appointed from among members of the Indian Legislature. In addition, nothing whatever can or will be done until the Assembly has had time to read and digest the Report of the Indian delegation that has recently returned from British Guiana. I am very doubtful whether the Assembly, after having done so, will be prepared to recommend the reopening of Indian emigration to British Guiana, and if not, it is one of the few certain things to be predicated of the Government of India that it will not act in opposition to the views of the Assembly. Much the same thing applies to the case of Fiji, regarding which a similar report is awaiting consideration. In discussing these matters, it is essential to remember that India will never again consent to any scheme of purely labour-emigration. She has no intention of being regarded as an inexhaustible reservoir of cheap and docile labour for the enrichment of European capitalists, often absentees. She is much more interested in developing her own industries than in supplying a labour force for others who cannot be relied upon to treat it well.

South Africa was not a party to the Imperial Conference resolution, and Mr Sastri let fall a few significant sentences on the subject at the complimentary luncheon given to him on October 26 last. He said "I was not prepared to go to South Africa, and if I may quote high authority, without mentioning names in this room, I was assured that for a

good long time yet South Africa may not be in a state of moral and material preparedness to receive a deputation of this kind from India. In the light of that information, the Government of India magnanimously resolved not to take the Government of the Union of South Africa by surprise, for we hope to play the game." Now the situation in the Union is very unsatisfactory. The storm-centre, which was formerly in the Transvaal, has lately been transferred to Natal, where the anti-Asiatic elements have been organizing themselves for a great demonstration. Their former argument, that the Indians were a danger to the Province because they so considerably outnumbered the European population, has been greatly weakened by the latest census figures, which show that, whilst the Indian population has been stationary, the European has rapidly increased, so that, in a short time, the Europeans will have begun to outnumber the Indians. Moreover, as each year passes, the proportion of Indians born in the Province and who know no other home, who are, indeed, South Africans, increases, the majority of them already being of South African birth. Nevertheless, the anti-Indian agitation proceeds from bitterness to bitterness. Last year three Ordinances were passed by the Natal Provincial Council depriving Indians of certain rights of ordinary citizenship. One of these was subsequently assented to by the Governor-General, upon the advice of the Union Government, one has been suspended pending further inquiry, whilst the third has been definitely disallowed, on the ground of incompatibility with the Union Government's policy. A prominent member of the Council has notified General Smuts that he intends to reintroduce the two Ordinances not yet assented to, and that, upon their being passed, as there seems little reason to doubt they will be, he and his Natal colleagues who are members of the South African Party will challenge the Union Government to disallow

them It seems probable, therefore, that General Smuts may be obliged to choose between keeping his party intact and assenting to measures of which he and his Government do not approve

There is, however, a possible way out, and it raises a constitutional issue of the first magnitude The Provincial Councils and the Union Government exercise their powers only with the authority derived from the South Africa Act, 1909, an enactment of the Imperial Parliament Section 147 of that Act provides that the control of matters specially or differentially affecting Asiatics shall vest in the Governor-General-in-Council I have excellent grounds for asserting that this provision was inserted in the Act in order to defeat the possibility of just such legislation as that complained of, for it was realized at the time that Asiatic affairs were of far too difficult and delicate a nature to be entrusted to the Provincial Legislatures It is now argued, on behalf of the Indian community, that the meaning of this section of the Act is to confine the control and handling of Asiatic affairs, from beginning to end, and at every stage, to the Union Government, responsible to Parliament, to the exclusion of any lesser jurisdiction, and that the Union Government is not empowered to delegate any portion of this control to any subordinate or other authority If that contention be correct—and there is a good deal of support given to this interpretation in influential quarters—then the Ordinance recently passed and assented to is *ultra vires* the South Africa Act, the Natal Provincial Council is incompetent to legislate in matters specially or differentially affecting Indians, and the Union Government ought to prohibit the Provincial Councils from considering or in any other way dealing with such matters If the above interpretation were adopted by the Union Government, General Smuts could honourably extricate himself from a very difficult and possibly dangerous

political *impasse* If not, then there is nothing to prevent the Provincial Legislatures constantly hampering and embarrassing the Union Government in the administration of Indian affairs, and it would be quite useless for the Government of India to make any representations on behalf of South African Indians to the Union Government The latter would be faced with the unpalatable alternatives of having either to suppress the Provincial Legislatures, or to secure an amendment of the South Africa Act, or eventually to assent to the handling of Indian affairs by the Provincial politicians, mostly ignorant of the Imperial issues involved and unaccustomed to Imperial responsibility

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE INDIAN LABOUR PROBLEM

BY P PADMANABHA PILLAI, B A , B L ,

Fellow of the Royal Economic Society

THERE is only too good reason to believe that the productive and manufacturing capacities of India have not yet received adequate recognition at the hands of Western countries. In recent times, however, interest in such matters has been greatly quickened and stimulated by India's magnificent efforts during the War, and also by the timely publication of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. A natural result of this has been that a great many problems connected with Indian industries are now being studied and investigated, not the least interesting of which relates to the conditions of Indian labour.

To the ordinary Westerner who looks upon India as the mystic land where brown humanity lives a drowsy life under a tropic sun, it will come as a surprise to be told that the workers in Indian industries, mining, and transport outnumber the whole population of Spain, that, though possessing in her population of over 319 millions a monopoly market for many important branches of home production, India exported last year manufactured goods worth £86,911,000, and in the foreign trade alone 13,000,000 tons of shipping entered and cleared from her ports, that the mileage of her railways exceeds that of the United Kingdom or France, that the Indian jute industry is unrivalled in magnitude, and her cotton industry fifth in importance in the world; and that she possesses flourishing iron and steel works, foundries, railway workshops, dockyards, paper mills, petroleum refineries, and rice mills.\* It

\* See Memorandum urging India's claim to be one of the eight States of "chief industrial importance" sent from the India Office to the Secretary-General, League of Nations, in October, 1921.

follows that, in order to keep going, these industries should be affording employment to a vast army of workers, a conclusion which is thoroughly borne out by the following figures \* The number of actual workers engaged in the production of raw materials is 106,508,881, of whom 72,332,823 are males Those employed in pasture and agriculture are said to be 105,335,379, but this figure includes small-holders, who, though working their lands themselves, can hardly be called agricultural labourers pure and simple The number of farm servants, field labourers, and coolies in the plantation industries such as tea, coffee, indigo, rubber, comes to as many as 27,081,130, of whom 13,864,857 are males, and the figures for those engaged in stock-breeding and forestry come to 3,893,900, of whom 3,212,901 are males, so that the total number of those engaged in actual agricultural labour, stock-breeding, and forestry, comes to 30,975,030, of whom 17,077,758 are males Compare with this the number of males engaged in the same pursuits in other countries

Country	Year	No of Males
U S A	1910	10,783,903
European Russia	1897	11,554,287
Japan (estimated)	1908	5,408,363
France	1911	5,279,475
German Empire	1907	5,076,862
United Kingdom	1911	2,142,635

The figures for other industries are no less striking Mining affords employment for 308,449, industries for 17,515,230, and transport for 2,394,882, making a total in all of about 20,219,000, which is nearly equal to the figures for U S A and France combined The statistics for maritime employment point in the same direction The great importance of Indian interests in this respect is not generally realized, but with the exception of the United Kingdom, Indian maritime workers outnumber those of any other member of the International Labour organization

Thus, judged by the test of the number of workers, India, with its 100 millions of occupied males, is easily the first among all the countries of the world It may perhaps be argued that

\* Census figures for 1911

a comparison like this leads to false and unreliable results, having regard to the extent and population of India and seeing that many of her industries are still undeveloped. But whatever force such an objection may have in determining India's place among the great industrial countries of the world, the test based on the number of workers is the only relevant one to apply in determining the weight and magnitude of the interests of the workers themselves.

Ordinarily, the Indian labourer is drawn from the lowest stratum of society. The ancient village organization of India does not appear to have provided any place for the independent labourer. Attached to every village was a class of predial serfs belonging to the lowest class or caste which performed certain lowly, if necessary, services to the small village community, and was in return maintained by it. But with the advent of better communications the village, with its quaint sense of isolation from the rest of the world, began to show signs of disintegration, one of the earliest of which was the attempt of the village drudges to better their position and prospects by seeking employment in the larger world beyond. Their numbers must have been considerably augmented by the small-holders deprived of their strips of land through the operations either of the moneylender or of the tax-gatherer, so that we have now a large and rapidly growing population of unskilled labour, commonly called the "agricultural proletariat." There are also at the same time large numbers of small-holders who in slack season or in times of distress seek employment as casual labourers.

The labour force in India is recruited almost entirely from these three sources, and this circumstance in a large measure determines the ordinary labourer's habits and methods of work. The factory operative is primarily an agriculturist. In almost all cases his hereditary occupation is agriculture, his home is in the village, not in the city.\* His wife and family ordinarily

\* Mr L J Sedgwick, the Bombay Superintendent of Census, discusses the source of the city of Bombay's labour at p 15 of the *Bombay Labour Gazette* for March, 1922. His figures, showing the percentage



live in that village, he regularly remits a portion of his wages there, and he returns there periodically to look after his affairs and to obtain a rest after the strain of factory life. It follows that the Indian operative does not rely exclusively upon factory employment in order to obtain a livelihood. At most seasons he can command a wage sufficient to keep him, probably on a somewhat lower scale of comfort, by accepting work on the land, and there are also numerous other avenues of employment more remunerative than agricultural labour which are open to every worker in any large industrial centre \*

This independence of the Indian labourer has had a baneful effect upon the nature and quality of his work. He is irregular and unsteady, likes to take things easy, and chafes at the rigorous discipline of the factory as compared with the easier methods of the field. "One cause for the unpopularity of mill labour," so wrote Mr S H Fremantle, I C S, who reported on the supply of labour in the United Provinces and Bengal in 1906, "is undoubtedly the distaste for discipline, coupled with confinement for long hours in the mill." The Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1908 reported that "the Indian factory worker is in general incapable of prolonged and intense effort. He may work hard for a comparatively short period, but even in such cases the standard obtained is much below what would be expected in similar circumstances in any European country. His natural inclination is to spread the

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of persons born in Bombay to the total population at each census, are instructive as showing how largely the population of the city is immigrant

Year.	Per Cent.
1872	31.1
1881	27.8
1891	25.0
1901	23.4
1911	19.6
1921	16.0

Similar conditions prevail in the jute districts of Bengal, where at the present time about 90 per cent of the labour is imported

\* See Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission (Cd 4292 of 1908), p 18

work he has to do over a long period of time, working in a leisurely manner throughout and taking intervals of rest whenever he feels disinclined for further exertion." They estimated that in the cotton and textile mills of India the average operative probably spent from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 hours each day, in addition to the statutory midday interval, away from his work. The reasons for this "loitering"—a phenomenon which is by no means confined to the Indian labourer—are different from those of the "ca' canny" classes of British workmen of the present day. The late Dr T. M. Nair, in his powerful *Minute of Dissent* attached to the Report of the Labour Commission of 1908 above referred to, explains it as due to overlong hours of work. He calls it "a manifestation of the adaptive capacity which all human beings possess more or less," "a device to reduce the intensity of labour as a safeguard to his own physical well-being", and adds "The experience of other countries that short hours have also reduced the interruptions in the course of the day has been realized at least in one mill in India, and in the face of this fact to charge the Indian labourer with ingrained habits of idleness is the refuge of the sweater." The Labour Commissioners themselves considered that where the hours are short and the supervision good, the operatives can be trained to adopt fairly regular and steady habits of working. Climatic conditions,\* too, and a feebler physique are largely accountable for this characteristic of Indian labour, and it may be hoped that there will be a change for the better when working hours are reasonably shortened, and adequate steps taken to protect the health of the operative.

Another circumstance which certainly is peculiar to Indian labour is its intermittent character. Generally speaking, about 10 per cent of the labour force in any industry are always absent on "French leave," and not less than 30 per cent are off at harvest time. Each operative generally takes two or three days' holiday each month and a yearly holiday which may extend from one to three months. The general results of enquiry in two mills in Bombay were as follows

\* See "Climate and the Evolution of Civilization," E. Huntingdon.

AVERAGE ABSENCE PER OPERATIVE PER YEAR OVER THE  
THREE-YEAR PERIOD, 1905-06-07

Department	Mill A	Mill B
Carding	55 days	45 days
Throstle	62 "	51 "
Weaving	72 "	50 "

That is, the average operative may be said to take two days off work every month, and a further annual holiday of from three to seven weeks. In addition he receives the Sunday holiday and from four to ten native holidays during the year \*. This practice, which enables the operative to spend some time every year in his own village amid congenial rural surroundings, certainly affords a much-needed change from the conditions of his city life. But he seldom notifies his employer of his intention to stay away from work, thus making it difficult for the latter to make the necessary arrangements, and the hindrance to production thus caused is necessarily great when the numbers involved are, as in many cases, large.

Another consequence of his agricultural bias is his relative inefficiency in the more skilled industries. In earthwork and agriculture the Indian labourer is not seen so much at a disadvantage. But in occupations where steadier and more sustained attention is required, and where hand and eye have always to be on the alert, he has been pronounced distinctly the inferior of his European confrère. According to Sir Clement Simpson, of Messrs Binny and Co, Madras, whose figures have not been seriously challenged, 2 67 hands in an Indian cotton-spinning and weaving mill are equal to one hand in a Lancashire mill. As against this Dr Nair quotes the opinion of outside experts like Mr Platt and Mr Henry Lee that in no country on earth, except in Lancashire, do the operatives possess such a natural leaning to the textile industry as in India, and refers to the remark of Dr G. Von Schultz Gævernitz in 1895 that the Indian labourer does not stand far behind the German. The operatives themselves offer a different explanation of their alleged inefficiency. In a

\* Indian Factory Labour Commission Report, 1908, p. 27

Memorial submitted to the Viceroy in 1883, the mill-workers of Bombay said "The real cause of this is the bad machinery and the bad material used in the mills. The breakage in the thread is so continuous on account of the bad quality of the cotton that mill-owners are compelled to employ more men. As the effect of the long hours has to be considered before judging of the idle habits of the Indian operatives, so the quality of the raw material they have to handle has to be taken into consideration before the extent of their skilfulness or otherwise is determined." The Labour Commission noted this defect, but reported that "the Indian operative possesses considerable adaptability," and when it is remembered that organized industries of the modern type have not been in existence in India long enough to enable a class of industrial operatives to grow up possessing the inherited skill and dexterity of English workmen, and that the Indian workers are, as a rule, unfamiliar with power-driven machinery, this comparative lack of skill can easily be understood. The skill and intelligence of the Bombay and Bengal operatives to which the authors of the Indian Industrial Commission Report refer (at p. 18), are obviously due to the fact that these Provinces were the first homes of modern industries in India.

The love of easy-going independence, the migratory habits, and the reluctance to submit to discipline and to learn new processes of production, which characterize the Indian workman, explain the paradox that, in spite of her 319 millions, one of the greatest obstacles to India's industrial expansion is the scarcity of labour. References to the shortage of labour are abundant in the reports of most mills and factories, and in 1905 a conference of the Indian Chamber of Commerce adopted the following resolution: "Whereas the supply for rank and file labour is inadequate in many districts, and whereas the deficiency is seriously restricting the productive power of a large section of the manufacturing concerns of the country, it seems imperatively necessary to this Conference that in order to devise a remedy, measures should be taken by a Government Commission or otherwise to investigate the causes which have

led to a state of affairs inconsistent with the relative conditions of life of the factory operative on the one hand and the agricultural classes generally on the other." But what exactly is meant by "scarcity of labour"? It is true that famine, plague, and the influenza epidemic of 1919 have taken heavy toll from the available sources of labour. Yet, says Sir Theodore Morison, there are in the villages and on the outskirts of towns thousands who are eager to sell their labour at very scanty wages. But, as already explained, this labour is unskilled and intermittent, and Sir Theodore\* therefore takes it that the term "shortage of labour" means a shortage of trained labour. Conditions have altered since Sir Theodore wrote his book, and to-day India experiences a shortage in unskilled labour as well. Since 1903-04, according to a Government Report,† "the cry has been for workers rather than for work. Agriculture itself has steadily increased its demands, but has felt itself obliged to compete with the still more rapidly increasing requirements of commerce, and it is no exaggeration to say that the labourer has been in a position to dictate his own terms." Men there are still in plenty, but they are content with their own standard of living, and, since that has remained unchanged in spite of the recent rise in wages, they are now able to work less and take longer rests. Another feature of the Indian labour situation is the scarcity of men of the mistry or foreman class possessing the requisite technical and business experience, which is largely the result of the average Indian's holy aversion to all forms of manual work. The dearth of both trained and untrained labour and its slackness, which necessitates a costly system of supervision, are factors to be reckoned before concluding that Indian labour is the cheap commodity it is generally believed to be.

Judged by Western standards, the wage paid to labour of all kinds is exceedingly low. Thirty years ago the wages of a

\* "Industrial Organization in an Indian Province," p. 181.

† Quoted at p. 173 of Datta's Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914. See also Cd. 4292 of 1908, Sect. 7.

field labourer hardly exceeded twopence a day, though, translated into terms of commodities ("real wages") the figure is not so utterly inadequate as it looks. Wages were paid by village custom partly in cash and partly in kind. As a rule the labourer took in cash only the amount required for his actual expenses such as clothes, etc., the rest being taken in food grains. Since then, of course, wages have risen considerably. Enquiries into the rates of agricultural wages in the United Provinces and in the Punjab made in 1906 and 1909 respectively showed that, while there was the greatest disparity in rates from district to district, they averaged 2½d in the former to 4d in the latter. There is obviously no comparison between this rate and that for the same kind of labour in England in 1907, which averaged 17s 6d a week\*. The rise in the Indian rate is still going on, the War, with its call for increased production, and the recent rise in world prices have had their usual effect on the rate of wages, and now we find the labourers putting forward claims for a higher rate throughout the country. Thus in rural areas the real wages of both agricultural labourers and village artisans rose in 1912 to 38 per cent above the general level in 1890-94†, and in 1921 it was by no means uncommon to find the wages for ordinary unskilled labour ranging from one shilling to eighteen-pence per diem‡.

There is, however, one class of agricultural labour which does not appear to have fared so well. The plantation cooly, working on the uplands far away from home, formerly commanded a higher rate of wages than his fellow-worker in the plains. The original scale, unfortunately, appears to have been petrified into immobility, for, writing in 1913, Mr K. L. Datta‡ declares that their real wages have fallen 5 per cent below the level in 1890-94. The average rate for a cooly in

\* See the Board of Trade's Earnings and Hours Enquiry, Vol. V, Cd 5460 of 1910.

† See Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914, paras. 406-409.

‡ See *Bombay Labour Gazette*, January, 1922, p. 14.

the South Indian plantations is only sixpence a day, but to this must be added the pecuniary advantages he receives by the sale of rice at concession rates and the provision of free housing and medical assistance \* The general tendency of wages has, however, been to lag behind prices, and this has been responsible for much of the recent distress among the labouring classes

Factory labour also has had the benefit of the rising wages, though the rate of increase has not been so rapid as in rural areas The Labour Commission of 1908 did not go into the question of wages, but they had sufficient evidence to conclude that "the wages of textile factory operatives were considerably higher than those earned by the same class of men in other employments" At the time of their enquiry wages per month in cotton textile mills varied within the following limits

	Rs		Rs
Half-timers	2½ to 4½	Full-time boys between	
Hands in the card and		fourteen and seventeen	5 to 13
frame departments	7 to 18	Head spinners (male)	25 to 35
Male piecers	10 to 16	One-loom weavers	10 to 15
Women (reeling and		Two-loom weavers	18 to 35
winding)	5 to 12		

The wages in the jute mills were slightly higher.

The specimen wages *per mensem* in cotton mills in 1918, including war bonus, in Bombay (where wages are higher than elsewhere in India), were

	Rs	As	Ps	£	s	d
Drawer (card room)	23	6	0	1	11	2
Reeler	17	4	0	1	3	0
Warper	40	8	0	2	14	0
Rover	24	1	0	1	12	1
Doffer (card room)	12	10	0		16	10
Weaver	46	15	0	3	2	7

(Wages paid monthly, two or three weeks in advance)

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\* That conditions in the North Indian plantations do not greatly differ is evident from the Report on Immigrant Labour in Assam, 1920-21, which see. A Committee has recently been appointed to enquire into labour conditions in Assam, the report of which is expected to throw light on the whole question

The specimen wages in jute mills for June, 1918, were

	Rs	As	Ps.	£	s	d
Carders	9	0	0		12	0
Rovers	12	0	0		16	0
Spinners	14	12	0		19	8
Shifters	11	0	0		14	8
Winders	18	0	0	1	4	0
Beamers	22	0	0	1	9	4
Weavers	27	0	0	1	16	0
Mistries	30	0	0	2	0	0
Coolies	13	0	0		17	4

(Wages paid weekly, one week in advance)

And in coal-mining the average daily wage per head was 7 6 annas in the same year

The greatest sufferers from low wages are such non-factory workers as shop-hands, clerks, postmen, etc. The Indian Government is one of the largest employers of this kind of labour, and the following figures\* will show how one class of their employees (viz., the Agra postman) has fared at their hands. They will also show the rate of rise in the wages of a woollen mill operative in North India, whose wage in 1895 was slightly lower than that of the Agra postman

	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1917	1918	1919	1920
Agra postman	8 57	8 65	9 44	10 95	12 45	12 6	13 21	13 5	—
Bouler Mistry in North Indian woollen mill	8 4	—	11 4	13 8	17 9	—	24 8	25 2	35 8

The disparity in the rate of increase is striking, and shows clearly that the wages offered by the Government are not always higher than those offered by private employers of labour, as is generally supposed, though it is only fair to say that the same glaring difference does not appear in the wages of numerous other classes of Government servants †. This will also illustrate how wages lag behind prices, since the index number of the cost of living in India went up from 100 in July,

\* The figures are in rupees and decimals of rupees, and are taken from p 215, Statistical Abstract for British India, Cd 1425, 1921

† I understand there has been since 1919 an increase in the wages of postmen



1914, to 185 in July, 1919, and the wages show no corresponding increase

The prevailing rate of factory wages has called forth interesting criticisms from various quarters and from different viewpoints. The capitalist employers appear to think that because of the Indian labourer's relative inefficiency and of the comparatively low cost of living in India the present rate is as high as the various industries can afford to pay. The contrary view has been held by the late Dr Nair and Mr B P Wadia. Dr Nair in 1908 contended that if one Lancashire operative is equal to 2.67 Madras operatives, then, since the average monthly wage of a Lancashire operative is about Rs 60 (£4), while that of a Madras operative is only Rs 15 (£1), it is clear that for the same money the Indian mill-owner gets nearly double the work that an English mill-owner does. Mr Wadia approaches the question from a different point of view.\* "It may be contended," he says, "that living in India is cheap, but when the rise in the price of food-stuffs and clothing material is taken into account, when a personal enquiry into the lives of the workmen is made, and when we see the hovels they live in, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, and remember that they are always in debt which is ever increasing, we cannot but come to the inevitable conclusion that the scale of wages is scandalously low and is absolutely inadequate to meet the demands of sheer existence at the present time." He continues "The wage now allowed to the Indian labourer leads to malnutrition. Though he may be addicted to living cheaply, the most frugal temperament would not choose malnutrition and its consequences for the sake of cheap living," and concludes with the quotation that "Labour may be cheap, but life is not."

The surest way of ascertaining the adequacy of wages is to compare them with the amount required to keep an average working-class family consisting of the worker, his wife, and two children in physical efficiency for a given period. From careful investigations in Madras in the two years 1917 and 1920,

\* Memorandum to the Glasgow Trades Union Congress of 1919

by Dr Gilbert Slater and the Rev D G M Leith respectively, the following figures were obtained

Items	1917		1920		Percentage of Rise
	Rs	As	Rs	As	
Food	14	0	17	10	26
Rent	1	0	1	8	50
Clothing	0	8	1	4	150
Fuel	1	0	1	6	37
Miscellaneous	0	8	0	12	50
Total	17	0	22	8	32

Accepting these figures as substantially accurate, it must be admitted that quite a large percentage of Indian workmen is living on less than the minimum income required to prevent physical deterioration. There are some who believe that the fixing of a minimum wage by law would effectively meet the situation, and Mr K C R Chaudhuri brought forward a resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council last year "that early steps be taken to establish Industrial Boards for the determination of a minimum wage for each industry in Bengal." But the fallacies underlying the minimum wage theory are apparent, as are the industrial and administrative implications following on its adoption. At its foundation it has the idea that the opinion of one or two individuals may properly establish a standard of living for the members of some particular group at the market prices of some particular day, which society as a whole is obliged to provide to the individuals of that group in return for a certain number of hours of work, without reference to any practical or scientific co-ordination of real wages between different sections of workers or in relation to the service or work performed by those to whom that wage is paid.\* The Government very properly declined to accept the resolution, for the wages in industries in India are regulated by agricultural wages, and industrial concerns in order to attract the labourer must offer higher wages than he gets in his own village. How are agricultural wages to be regulated? "Apart from the fact that we have not got sufficient knowledge for the purpose, and

\* See Report of the American Commission on Foreign Enquiry of the National Civic Federation, 1919

from the fact that we should have to make allowances for differences in land tenures and other matters, even if we could fix a minimum wage that would be accepted by all as fair and reasonable, we have not got the staff to go round and see that these minimum wages are paid '\*

It is fairly clear that higher wages are an absolute *sine qua non* if the efficiency of Indian labour is to be improved, and judging by the high profits made by many of the industrial concerns of India and the value of their shares on the Stock Exchange, the employers can certainly afford to pay a much higher rate. Many employers who are anxious, in their own interests, to improve the quality of labour, are agreed as to the necessity for higher wages, but their complaint is that the labourer does not respond to the stimulus thereby afforded. His wants being few and inexpensive, these secured, he takes advantage of the increased wages, not to increase his output and earn more money, but to work less, for fewer days in the year. This brings us to another paradox in Indian economics, that a rise in the rate of wages diminishes the supply of labour. In Bombay, since the 10 per cent rise in the wages of mill operatives given during the rains of 1917, there has been an actual falling off in output, and at the last annual meeting of the Indian Mining Federation, the chairman, Mr N C Sircar, complains "We have known the bitter effect of our increase in wages, how it has failed to stimulate a desire for higher earnings, and how it has acted as a direct incentive to increased idleness"†

Higher wages by themselves, then, cannot do much good. Along with that, the Indian labourer has to be taught, in the words of Mr William Archer, "to want more wants". The spirit of divine discontent must take possession of his mind. These will bring about a longing for a higher standard of comfort, and to quote Mr Sircar again, "it is in quickening this sense of better comfort and better standard of life that the sal-

\* The Hon Mr Kerr's remarks in the discussion on the Resolution in Council

† Reported in the *Statesman*, Calcutta, April 27, 1922

vation of the Indian working-classes lies '' It is in this connection, apart from all humanitarian considerations, that the questions of education, better housing, and general welfare work come to the fore The great economic loss India has suffered by the unskilfulness of her labour—a defect largely remediable by education—is now recognized, and special attention is now being bestowed upon the provision of sufficient educational facilities for the newer generation of workers

The Labour Commission of 1908 felt that the existing provisions were inadequate, but, seeing that even the few schools maintained by some of the mills were shamefully inefficient, and that they were in many cases being kept only as a means for overworking children, were compelled to recommend that such schools should not be located within the factory premises In the absence of anything more fruitful than this negative suggestion, the late Mr G K Gokhale proposed that all factories employing not less than twenty children should be compelled to provide for their free education The motion was lost, the employers protesting that it was unfair to saddle them with a burden which it was the duty of the State to bear In the following year the Government of Bombay appointed a committee to consider the question, but nothing came of it, since the members were evenly divided, four recommending compulsory education for factory children and the remaining four—all employers—opposing it There the matter rested till December, 1917, when Bombay led with an Act empowering Municipalities (other than that of the city of Bombay) to declare the education of children between six and eleven compulsory, subject to certain safeguards, and to raise funds to meet the necessary expenditure, and most of the other Provincial Governments followed suit It is only in the Bombay Presidency, however—and there again, only in four Municipalities—that the Act is in operation, financial and other difficulties standing in the way of the other Provinces It may here be pointed out that the object of raising the minimum age of factory children to twelve in the Factories Amendment Act of 1922 will be largely defeated if effective provision is not made for their education during the

free hours     Capitalist enterprise in this direction still leaves much to be desired, though it is encouraging to find that many of the more enlightened mill-owners have copied the action of the Madras Perambore Mills and set up well-conducted schools for children who are connected with the mills either directly or through their parents \*

In the matter of housing the idea is to make the conditions of the urban labourer's quarters approximate to those prevailing in his own village     The latter are by no means salubrious, as persons familiar with the ways of living of the lower castes in India (such as the pariahs of the Southern Presidency), can testify     But clamant as are the evils even of this sort of village life, those of the towns with their greater congestion are easily worse     The plantation labourers and the workmen attached to factories situated at a distance from towns naturally live under conditions which approach nearest to village life     The dwellings here taken the form of single-story lines consisting of single room units with a veranda and an open courtyard in front     The congestion and insanitation become more pronounced in the larger industrial centres, where, also, the workers instinctively try to reproduce their home surroundings, but are prevented by the lack of available space from having the veranda and the courtyard     Hence have arisen the "bustis" and "chawls," which are notoriously overcrowded and insanitary     The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission† gives us a faithful picture of the filth and squalor of "chawl" life in Bombay, of the ill-ventilated rooms, the damp ground-floors, the narrow courtyards dumped with rubbish, the insufficient water arrangements, and the bad sanitary accommodation     Some of the larger factories in India have built commodious settlements near their premises for large numbers of their operatives, and many more are doing so, seeing that suitable housing accommodation renders the labour supply steadier and forms an attraction to new recruits     But what

\* For a résumé of the whole question, see A. G. Clow's article on "Factory Children and Education," *Journal of Indian Industry and Labour*, vol 1, part 2

† Paragraphs 241 and 242

has already been done forms but a tiny speck compared to what has yet to be done, and to hasten matters the suggestion has definitely been put forward in Bombay and Behar (coal mines) that employers should be compelled individually to house their own labour. The interests of national efficiency require the protection of the labourer's health, bad housing leads to deterioration, and it seems only reasonable that a part of the capital employed in production should be deflected to improving the principal instrument of production by the provision of healthier conditions of living for labour. Compulsion, however, is inexpedient, since its incidence on employers will be unequal, and the financial resources of Indian industrialists are not yet strong enough to bear the burden. Labour, also, has its own objections to the creation of a class of landlord employers who, it is feared, would keep it too much in subjection. And even without legal compulsion, the present tendency, growing stronger every day among the leading employers, to pay greater attention to the material comforts of their employees will itself find a solution for this vexed problem. In the housing schemes of these employers expert opinion is often taken and the most recent ideas in regard to lay-out and design considered. The Bombay Improvement Trust has in hand some very costly schemes under expert supervision, and the growing industrial town of Jamshedpur, the population of which will exceed 100,000 when the present extensions are completed, will compare favourably with any industrial centre in the world in the matter of the comforts and conveniences provided for the working classes.

In general welfare work, the efforts to improve the health of the worker must occupy the front position. Major Norman White, the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, declares that the weaker physique and lower vitality of the Indian worker which have caused him to be labelled "inefficient" are due to removable pathological causes,\* such as malaria and hookworm infection (ankylostomiasis). Both are almost universally prevalent in India and both are preventable.

\* See Appendix L, Industrial Commission Report

Recent experiments have shown that the output of labour which has been treated for ankylostomiasis has increased by as much as 25 per cent, and this surprising increase in efficiency has been accompanied by a reduction of disease of all kinds. The campaign of public health and sanitation should not be confined to urban areas, where the labourers "most do congregate." The recruiting centres of labour are in the rural regions, where also one finds the same appalling ignorance of the laws of personal and domestic hygiene.\* There is thus a great necessity for a widespread organization to preach the gospel of health all over India, and the All-India Health and Welfare Association which has been started recently is doing something in this direction. The aim of industrial welfare work is the development of the human factor in industry. In its present form it is a movement of fairly recent origin, and its possibilities were perhaps not generally realized till a Welfare Department was organized by the Ministry of Munitions during the War. Foremost among the unofficial bodies undertaking service of this kind in India are the Servants of India Society and the Social Service League of Bombay. Among the employers, the great firm of Tata's has, as usual, taken a lead in the new humanitarian movement, and welfare work on an extensive scale is being conducted at their headquarters at Jamshedpur.

The following remarks of Mr J. A. Kay, the Chairman of the Bombay Mill-Owners' Association, at the last annual meeting, are of interest, as showing the new angle of vision among the employers. "I am pleased," said he, "to see that so many of our members are now taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which our workpeople live. Most of our troubles economically and industrially can, I think, to a great degree be put down to illiteracy and the migratory habits of our workpeople, and education would help to solve our problem, but, though much has been said about compulsory primary education, I am afraid Government are a long way off

\* Lieut.-Colonel MacTaggart thinks that the health of the agricultural worker is inferior to that of the factory worker. See Appendix B, Cd. 4292 of 1908.

even making a commencement in this direction, so the social condition of our employees must be improved by welfare work. Much has already been done, but I appeal to our members to do more. I know at times results are disappointing, but if we can raise up their standard by giving them brighter surroundings and attractions to keep them out of the liquor and bucket-shops, we shall have achieved something, for better environment must as time goes on tell its own tale, and I should suggest to those who are not already doing so that a certain amount be put aside out of profits each year for this purpose." But at the heart of every economic problem lies a moral problem, and the most effective help is that which enables the labouring classes to work out their own regeneration. The operatives are therefore being induced to organize themselves into working-men's institutes like those formed recently in the Tata and the Currimbhoy-Ebrahim Mills of Bombay. The formation of stores and credit societies on a co-operative basis, night-schools, reading-rooms and libraries, ambulance classes, arrangements for athletics and open-air excursions, and provision for various other amenities of existence which go to alleviate the bitterness of continual toil, are some of the directions in which this new spirit of social service is manifesting itself. The various Provincial Governments and Municipalities are also beginning to interest themselves in the question, and in Madras at least there is now a full-time officer called the Labour Commissioner, one of whose main functions is to improve the conditions of the "depressed classes," from whose ranks is drawn a large part of the labour force of that Presidency. Work of this nature is yet in its infancy, but it is a healthy sign that the Government, the capitalist, and the general public have combined themselves so early to meet in anticipation the inevitable demands of a developed labour movement. Would it be too much to hope that, if the present rate of progress is kept up, industrial development in India will in at least one respect proceed on happier and healthier lives than in the West? The tendency of the age that succeeded the industrial revolution has been to perfect machinery at the expense of man and



to regard increased production, not as a means to national prosperity, but as an end in itself. The result was that poverty increased, slums multiplied, and a rancorous and implacable enmity sprang up between labour and capital. The modern schemes of social welfare are intended to restore the disturbed balance and to bridge the yawning gulf between the two great factors of production. In entering the field of industrial activity as a late-comer India has secured one great advantage. She has had the time and the opportunity to watch the course of events in other countries and profit by their example, and if only the captains of Indian industry have learnt their lesson well it may confidently be expected that the pitfalls and dangers of the excessive industrialism of the West will be avoided, and that with suitable housing accommodation, reasonable wages and hours of work, and provisions for healthy relaxation and amusement, the Indian labourer will come to regard factory work, not as mere drudgery, but as a means through which he may express his personality, and his employer, not as a vampire living upon his life-blood, but as a brother and a colleague performing equally valuable services to society.

Effective factory legislation in India came into force with Act XII of 1911, though the first Factories Act came into operation on the 1st of July, 1881. The question of controlling the hours and conditions of factory work by legislation appears to have been raised so early as 1872, and in 1875, at the suggestion of the Secretary of State, the first Commission to consider and determine whether legislation was necessary was appointed in Bombay. Two of the more progressive members of the Commission recommended legislation on the following lines: Adequate protection of machinery, prohibition of employment of children under eight, an eight-hour day for children between eight and fourteen, a twelve-hour day for adults with one hour's rest, a weekly holiday, and the provision of drinking water. These proposals were ultra-radical for those days, and failed to win the approval of the majority. But the Hon. Mr. S. S. Bengali, the first champion of Indian labour, took the matter up in the Bombay Legislative Council, while

the Government of India, in their anxiety to protect children and young persons employed in factories, conceived the idea of all-India legislation. After a great deal of heated discussion, in the course of which the Draft Bill underwent considerable alteration, and in the face of the opposition of the Bengal and Madras Governments and the mill-owners of Bombay, the Imperial Legislature passed Act XV of 1881, by which children between seven and twelve were to work only nine hours a day and to have four holidays in the month. The definition of "factory" was restricted to works using power and employing 100 persons, and tea, coffee and indigo factories were completely exempted. The Act did not evoke much enthusiasm, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce was probably correct in stating that "the universal judgment" of the public was that it was unnecessary. The sponsors of the Act were themselves dissatisfied with its extremely limited scope, and doubted its adequacy, and Lord Ripon in particular felt that he had been wrong in giving way to the strong phalanx of conservative opinion opposed to his measure. The history of Indian factory legislation has already been set forth in detail by a competent hand (J. C. Kydd, "A History of Factory Legislation in India"), so that we can skip over the intervening period and come to the next Act (XI) of 1891, by which the number of persons necessary to constitute a "factory" was reduced to fifty, daily rests and weekly holidays were provided, the work of women limited to eleven hours, and that of children (nine to fourteen years) reduced to seven, and both classes protected against night work. It was expected that "the Bill will be accepted both here and at home, not as a mere prelude to still further restrictions, but as a settlement as final as any settlement of such a question can be".\* But the conditions of industry underwent rapid alterations since 1891, the number of factories and of the operatives attending daily had risen from 656 and 316,816 in 1892 to 2,359 and 792,511 respectively in 1910, and the introduction of electric light and the dearth of labour caused by the plague introduced

\* Lord Lansdowne's words in the Legislative Council

new problems which had to be considered. The provisions of the Act of 1891 were often neglected, and evasions of the law in regard to women and children were also only too frequent (see Section 2 of the Factory Commission Report of 1908). The Government were therefore compelled in 1906 to appoint the Textile Factories Labour Committee ("The Freer-Smith Committee") to go into the question and consider, *inter alia*, the case for the limitation of the working hours of adult males and the minimum age and certification of children. After the publication of their Report in 1907, the Factory Labour Commission was appointed to investigate in respect of *all* factories the questions referred to the Freer-Smith Committee. They brought out their exceedingly interesting Report in 1908, and while admitting that unduly long hours were being worked in the mills, and that "if generally adopted and persisted in for any length of time, they would almost certainly result in the physical deterioration of the operatives" (Section 7, paragraph 39), the majority of the Commissioners held to the view that a direct limitation of the working hours of adult males was inexpedient (see paragraph 46). This called forth from Dr T. M. Nair of Madras a dissenting minute of remarkable power and ability, in the course of which he exposed the weakness of the plan suggested in the Report, and earnestly pressed the necessity for such a direct limitation. The Government, agreeing with Dr Nair, limited adult labour to twelve hours. The proposals for a compulsory interval after six hours' continuous work, and for reducing children's working hours from seven to six in textile factories also were accepted, and Act XII of 1911 was passed on these lines. From 1910 to 1919 the number of factories had increased from 2,359 to 3,604, and the average daily number of operatives from 792,511 to 1,171,513. An immediate effect of the War was a tremendous increase in industrial activity, and the number of factories and of persons employed rose by about 25 per cent. in 1914-1919. At the same time the urgent necessity for increased production led to widespread exemptions of factories from many provisions of the Act, and the consequent disorganization once again

pressed the problem on the attention of the Government. The present Act (The Indian Factories Amendment Act, 1922), which came into force on the 1st July this year, marks a substantial advance on its predecessor in that (1) the number of persons necessary to constitute a factory is reduced from fifty to twenty, local Governments retaining the power by administrative order to extend the Act even to non-power establishments employing ten or more persons, and the exceptions made in favour of electric generating and transforming stations and plantation factories are repealed, (2) the ages of children are raised to twelve minimum and fifteen maximum, and (3) in place of the old Section 27 are substituted two new Sections "No person shall be employed in a factory for more than sixty hours in any one week," and "No person shall be employed in any one factory for more than eleven hours in any one day." There are also various minor changes, such as the abolition of the distinction between textile and non-textile factories, provisions relating to health and safety, and enhancement of maximum fines, and Dr Nair wins a posthumous victory in the new Act where the exceptions in favour of cotton-ginning and pressing factories, against which he so ably argued, are abolished.

The present Act has gone as far as it is desirable that India should go to-day, and it affords one more proof of the readiness of the Indian Government to uphold the legitimate interests of the labouring classes. In this connection, it may be mentioned that there has all along been in India a school of thought which views with apprehension the efforts made to limit the hours of work and approximate to the labour ideals of the more highly organized Western nations. Their position is that of the Labour Commissioners of 1908, who declared that in judging labour problems "the welfare of India must be regarded as absolutely paramount." We are profoundly impressed with the necessity for taking all practicable measures to foster the development of Indian industries, and convinced of the dangers likely to result from any attempt to apply to India laws or regulations framed with reference to other and

different conditions " And the argument is also advanced that if regulations tending in any wise to enhance the cost of labour are enforced in India, the influx of fresh capital into industries will be checked, that a reduction of the working hours will spell a curtailment of the national dividend, and that industrial progress will be seriously retarded It has also been suggested that the movement for the reduction of hours has been started by the Lancashire mill-owners, who are taking advantage of India's political subordination to stifle Indian competition "The voice is the voice of Exeter Hall, but the hand is the hand of Manchester " The fact that the first move in the matter came from the Secretary of State, and that there has always been considerable flutter in the Lancashire dovecotes when Indian labour problems were being discussed, have lent colour to this view In answer, it may be said that experience has not always confirmed the view that shorter hours mean diminished output On this point Mr C A Walsh, the special inspector who had to administer the Act of 1891, says that in workshops where shorter hours were worked than in textile mills labour was more plentiful and less costly, and that the Gauripore Jute Mills in Bengal paid higher dividends than any other mill in a year in which its hours were shorter than anywhere else , and we have also the evidence of the manager of an Agra mill about the same time that he had increased his outturn by a substantial reduction of hours Nor need this occasion any surprise when it is remembered that reasonable hours mean less loitering and more intense and concentrated effort Even were it otherwise, even if shorter hours may for a time diminish output, the higher interests of industrial efficiency require that the labourer should not be sweated and his physique suffered to deteriorate To conserve his strength, to keep his vigour unimpaired, and to provide him with opportunities for improvement, ought to be the aim of all who wish to lay the foundations deep and firm of the industrial India of the future Lancashire certainly was not disinterested when it offered its counsel to the Indian Government , but India may have reason to be grateful even for Lancashire's suggestion

when, as a consequence of it, she sees a new generation of sturdy workers springing up in the place of the anæmic and nerveless operatives of the present day

There is, however, another influence which is likely to prove more potent than Lancashire in shaping the destiny of Indian labour. India, as one of the signatories to the Peace Treaty, is also one of the original members of the International Labour Organization, established by that Treaty. Her delegates have attended the three conferences already held at Washington, Genoa, and Geneva, and she obtains a prominent place in the official Report,\* where M. Thomas refers to "the remarkable efforts which she has made to secure the realization of the great ends" for which the Organization was formed. But if India deserves praise for her ratification† of the Washington decisions, that Conference deserves no less praise for the eminently reasonable spirit in which it approached many of the questions it had to discuss. One wishes that the same could be said of the two succeeding Conferences. The great weakness of the Conference, it has been pointed out, is its humanitarianism, and some of the Resolutions at the two later sessions make one suspect that the Conference hopes to turn the world into a paradise by a Draft Convention and to hasten the Millennium by a Recommendation.

Now that labour has been "internationalized," the tendency in India will be to fall in line with world conditions, and herein lies a serious danger. It is true that under Article 405 of the Peace Treaty, the Conference, in framing its recommendations of general application, "should have due regard to those conditions in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organizations or other circumstances, make the industrial conditions substantially different, and should suggest the modifications which it considers may be required to meet such cases." But where the dominant idea is to approximate to a

\* See pp. 171-176, Report of the Director of the International Labour Office, 1921.

† As to how far she has ratified the Washington decisions, see the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 16, Industries, dated Delhi, November 25, 1920.

type, and the object is to bring about uniformity of legislation in order to avoid competition on what appears to be unequal terms, it seems only too likely that special circumstances calling for special treatment will receive only inadequate stress and insufficient consideration. So far as the welfare of the operative is concerned, India has gone as far as she could go without detriment to herself, and recommendations for further curtailment of working hours, or in other ways calculated to affect Indian industries adversely, should be subjected to careful scrutiny before ratification. The attitude of the Government of India in regard to the Resolutions on maritime employment and agriculture passed at the last two Conferences shows that they are alive to the danger of proceeding too fast and of being hustled along the lines laid down by the Conference.

That the spirit of combination is lacking in the Indian workman has been noticed by the employers at a very early date. In a letter to the Bombay Government dated November 25, 1905, the Collector of Bombay remarks "If the mill-owners desire to increase the hours, the operatives have no real power to prevent them. Their power of combination is as yet exceedingly limited, a large proportion will always continue to prefer to get as high wages as they can, regardless of their own welfare in the long run." The early history of organized labour in India is full of instances to show that while the operatives fully understood the machinery of local strikes and have repeatedly enforced employers to comply with their demands in isolated cases, they were unable to combine over any large area with the object of securing a common end by concerted action. Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb point out that whilst industrial oppression belongs to all ages, it is not till the changing conditions of industry have reduced to an infinitesimal chance the journeyman's prospect of becoming himself a master that we find the passage of ephemeral combinations into permanent trade societies.\* The essential preliminary condition of trade unionism, then, is the existence of a class of wage-earners divorced from the ownership of the means of production. In

\* "History of Trade Unionism," 1920, p. 6.

India, as we have seen, the predominant type is that of the agricultural labourer who retains his interest in land and is his own entrepreneur. Yet, latterly, there has been growing up a small but definite class of workers detached from all interest in land and looking solely to some particular form of industrial employment for the means of subsistence. The late emergence of this class explains the absence of trade unionism in the early history of Indian labour. Economic causes were no doubt at the bottom of the movement, though it may not be far wrong to say that political causes helped in some degree to precipitate it. An interesting glimpse into the psychology that was behind the formation of some labour unions is afforded by a little book entitled "Labour in Madras,"\* containing the speeches delivered by Mr B P Wadia during the incubating period of the Madras Labour Union. Most of the speeches are political in import and bear some internal evidence that they were considered part of the Indian Home Rule Campaign started by Mrs Besant during the War. That the Labour Programme was tacked on to the political movement to secure for the latter the support of the English Labour Party appears to be clear from the following quotation: "Above all, it should be remembered that the Labour Party of England will be able effectively to help us when we have the good vehicle of a sister movement here to work through. The fruition of the present labour movement will be in the Home Rule Administration, let us hope, of the near future,"† and in the face of this, the statement of Colonel Wedgwood that "labour has not been 'used' by Indian politicians" provokes a smile‡. But the activity of the politician gave no more than a fillip to the labour movement. There were other and more powerful causes tending in the same direction. The later War period and the years

\* S Ganesh and Co, Madras, 1921

† Speech quoted in *New India*, July 3, 1918

‡ See also Sir Valentine Chirol's "India Old and New," p 273

"There is unhappily very abundant evidence to show that strikes would not have been so frequent, so precipitate, and so tumultuous had not political agitation at least contributed to foment them as part of a scheme for promoting a general upheaval"



that succeeded the Peace were years of great economic stress and strain. It was a period of high prices and general scarcity, and the feeling of unrest thereby engendered supplied a great stimulus to the formation of Trade Unions. The organization and management of these Unions leave much to be desired, they possess no clear-cut features or well-defined duties, most of them have no permanent offices or staffs, and the men themselves are lukewarm in their loyalty to their Union, demurring to Union discipline and to Union contributions. A few of the older Unions, however, such as the Seamen's Unions, the Indian Telegraph Association, and the Railway Workers' Association, "are well on the way to that completeness of organization which marks the Trade Union system of the West." In the number of Unions and the total strength on their rolls, the seventy or eighty Labour Unions of India appear insignificant when compared to the 238 Trades Unions of the United Kingdom with a total membership of 6,505,482, and it is only through the magnitude and frequency of strikes in recent times that they have leapt into the light. The following figures (supplied by the Labour Bureau of the Government of India) give us an idea of the interruption thus caused to industry last year.

1921	Industrial Disputes	Number of Labourers Involved	Days Lost	Successful	Partially Successful
First quarter	116	185,251	2,590,325	13	42
Second quarter	64	122,432	2,114,657	11	12
Third quarter	88	97,825	1,133,684	15	12
Fourth quarter	132	117,647	799,196	49*	16
Total in 1921	400	523,155	6,637,862	88	82

\* Bonus question

The spread of the strike epidemic is causing grave anxiety to the Government and to industrialists, and has drawn prominent notice to the necessity for finding out the ways of securing industrial peace. Trade Unionism once again comes

into importance, since employers are desirous of calling into being organizations authoritatively representing labour interests with which they can negotiate. The inherent defects of the present Labour Unions—their lack of coherence, their numerical weakness, and their failure to obtain for themselves an undoubted representative character—place great limitations on their power of collective bargaining and ventilation of grievances. All parties are now agreed that, in the changing conditions of industry, Labour Unions have a definite function to perform, and while the labourers are trying to strengthen their movement by banding themselves into Central Labour Federations and Trades Union Congresses,\* the Government are now busy drafting a Bill giving the Unions legal recognition and protection. But the history of older countries has taught us the bitter lesson that well-established Trade Unions will not by themselves ensure industrial peace, and so the various Provincial Governments in India have recently been making detailed enquiries into the various ways of preventing and settling industrial disputes. Thus the question of popularizing works committees on the lines of the Whitley Report engaged the attention of the Second Conference of the Directors of Industry held at Cawnpore in November, 1920, and on the 30th of July, 1921, Mr J B Petit, the mill-owner, carried a Resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council asking for the appointment of a Committee to “consider and report upon the practicability or otherwise of creating suitable machinery for the prevention and early settlement of labour disputes.” The Report of the Committee was published some time back, and I understand that they are in favour of setting up Courts of Enquiry and Conciliation constituted by three members from each side, with a neutral chairman selected from a panel maintained in the Labour Office. It is expected that in the first place, after the enquiry, public opinion, which always plays a prominent part in the settlement of industrial disputes, would have some effect, but in case it did not, the Conciliation Board

\* The All India Trades Union Congress was formed in 1920, and has held two annual sessions, at Bombay and Jharia respectively

is to be brought into use. It is proposed to give the Courts statutory recognition, but not to make their decrees mandatory. It is not yet known what action the Government of Bombay intend to take on these recommendations.

It is difficult to define the duty of the Government when capital and labour disagree. It is indisputable that Government should secure the welfare of the worker by legislation, and this has been done by the new Factories and Mines Amendment Acts, and is being done by the proposed legislation regarding Trades Unions and Workmen's Compensation. But it is equally undoubted that Government should prevent the serious public inconvenience and dislocation of industry caused by strikes, and also that they should not, under existing conditions, dictate to the employer what wages he shall pay his workmen. We can thus understand the reluctance of all Governments to intrude into the delicate and intricate relations between capital and labour, and their anxiety to strengthen the principle of voluntarism as an instrument of industrial peace. These feelings find an eloquent echo in Lord Chelmsford's speech at the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 20th of August, 1920. After making an earnest appeal to the employers to regard their operatives from the human and not the commercial point of view, and expressing his belief that "employers who are willing to meet labour in this spirit and to treat their business as being as much the concern of their workers as of themselves will find their reward not merely in the increased profit, for that will not be lacking, but in the gratitude and loyalty of their men, and in the knowledge that they are furthering the contentment and happiness of their country," he turns to the labour leaders of the country.

"To those who are endeavouring to influence and focus the aspirations of labour, I would counsel a similar sympathy and forbearance, their responsibility is even greater than that of the employers. Labour in India is as yet scarcely articulate. But large numbers of working men are being enfranchised, and they will look to the leaders of Indian opinion for guidance and help. It will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is

forced to repeat the long history of industrial strife in England. The great majority of disputes admit of easy settlement, and there is no direction in which sane and sagacious political leaders can exercise a greater influence for good. In any strike it is the workers that suffer first and longest. And if we have to go through a long period of strife, industry will be crippled and the good start that we are making will be lost. To Honourable Members I would say, if you can bring capital and labour closer together, if you make it your duty to persuade them that their interest lies in co-operation and not in conflict, you will do more in a few years to better the condition of the workers in India than can be achieved by a lifetime of agitation. The future of industrial India is in your hands."

Wise and noble words !

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 23, 1922, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper entitled "The Indian Labour Problem" was read by Mr P Padmanabha Pillai, B.A., B.L. Sir Valentine Chirol occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Frederick A. Nicholson, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Robert Stanes, Colonel A. H. D. Creagh, C.M.G., M.V.O., Mr F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Lady Lukis, Mr F. C. Channing, Mr Robert Mann, Dr Gilbert Slater, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr B. C. Vaidya, Rev Oswald Younghusband, Mr G. M. Ryan, Mr A. L. Chakravarti, Dr C. B. Vakil, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr Frederick Grubb, Mrs Henderson, Mrs Fox-Strangways, Mrs Westbrook, Rev Herbert Halliwell, Mrs Meyer, Miss Shaw, Miss Beadon, Mrs Floyd, Mr F. J. P. Richter, Miss Nina Corner, Mr S. P. Hutheesing, Mrs Thornburgh-Cropper, Mr and Mrs G. D. Robertson, Mr Ram Hari Bhagat, Mr W. P. Ebbels, Mr P. Dinda, Mr F. A. Lodge, Mr S. B. Mitra, Rev Stuart Churchill, Miss Hilda A. Lake, and Mr Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY Ladies and gentlemen, we are meeting to-day under a shadow. It was our intention and the choice of the Lecturer that Sir William Meyer should have been presiding this afternoon, but by his tragic and sudden death India has been deprived of a friend and we incidentally of our Chairman this afternoon. I am sure everyone will deplore it. At the same time I have been extremely fortunate in securing Sir Valentine Chirol to take his place. I may say that Sir Valentine is very glad to do so more particularly because Sir William Meyer was a personal friend of his. We are under a very great obligation to Sir Valentine for his kindness in coming here this afternoon at very short notice to help us out of our difficulty. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly say it is with profound grief that I have to comply with the request that I should come in consequence of Sir William Meyer's sudden death to take his place here to-day. I think that before we proceed to business you will allow me to say a few words about Sir William, as I was privileged to be a friend of his and enjoy his intimacy in his once singularly happy home life and in his long distinguished public career. I need not dwell on Sir William's great ability, his energy and his industry. I will only say what a good friend he was to many in India and in this country, and whilst his ready wit was sometimes apt to be caustic, and some people thought there was rather a hard crust behind, any appearance of cynicism was deceptive. At bottom he was a singularly kind and singularly tender-hearted man. I remember him, a little more than ten years ago, as the most devoted husband of an accomplished and attractive wife, and a devoted father of two very bright children. They were coming home to England on leave to spend the holidays with the boy who was already at school, but when they arrived in

England the awful news awaited them that the boy had accidentally hanged himself at school in playing a game. Lady Meyer was driven almost out of her mind, and she died a few years later as the result of it, after a long and trying illness. Sir William had then one child left to him, a daughter, one of the most attractive and gifted children I have ever known. She was only seventeen and was just fitted to be a real companion to her father in India. Then one night at Simla, having a slight sore throat, she reached out in the darkness for a dose of medicine, and instead of the right bottle she took a dose out of one containing violent insect poison and was dead in two hours. I think you will agree with me that few men have drunk of the cup of human sorrow as he did, but he bore all this ordeal with unbroken fortitude. Always a hard worker, he continued to work harder than ever.

After having served for many years in Madras, he had reached the high office of Finance Member in the Government of India. He was Finance Member at a very difficult and trying time during the beginning of the Great War and, as you know, incurred considerable censure, very largely undeserved, in connection with the shortcomings of the first expeditions to Mesopotamia—I think undeserved because I know those shortcomings were largely due to the inherited system and financial policy of Government. These censures he also bore with patience and equanimity, and the Mesopotamian Parliamentary Commission at last entirely exonerated him.

Whilst he was member of the Government of India the first schemes for Indian reforms, consequent upon Mr Asquith's promise of a new angle of vision in return for the great outburst of Indian loyalty at the outbreak of the War, were being studied in Simla, and Sir William Meyer was always an advocate of generous and far-reaching measures. Those measures finally took effect, as you know, in the Government of India Act of 1919, and as a sequel to that the office of High Commissioner for India in London was created on the analogy of the High Commissionerships of the self-governing Dominions, and it was only fitting that it should have been conferred upon a man who, like Sir William, had played a considerable part in working out the new Constitutional Charter of India. He organized the office of the High Commissioner and piloted it through its initial stages when his work was interrupted by the hand of death, and I think perhaps you will all join with me in rising for a moment in your seats as a tribute of respect to Sir William Meyer's memory.

(The meeting stood for a few moments.)

Now I will proceed with the business of the day. I have pleasure in introducing to you the lecturer, Mr Pillai, who comes from Travancore, and after having practised as a High Court vakeel, took up the study of economics which he has come over to this country to pursue. I think you will agree, when you hear his lecture, that he has already pursued it with great usefulness for us this afternoon. I will say nothing more, but I will ask him to address you.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that this very interesting

paper which has been read could have been read *in extenso*, because it is really a very instructive paper. However, so much of it as has been read ought to stimulate discussion and to induce some members to offer some remarks on this very important subject, and I hope some of the member will respond.

SIR ROBERT STANES. Mr Chairman, I did not come here to speak but to listen, and hear what was to be said by our friend who has read this paper. I am largely interested in mills in Southern India, and we employ about 3,000 hands there. Much which has been said in this paper would scarcely apply to our men because the labourers there do not live in the town but in the villages surrounding, so that they are not in the midst of a number of people who try to lead them astray. We have in the mill a good school for the young people, but we do not draft them into the mill when we are hard up for labour as mentioned in the paper, and we have not much difficulty with regard to labour on the whole. Fortunately we have had no strikes. We felt very much with regard to the strikes in Madras, because they are the best managed mills in Southern India, far better than our own, and it makes one think that perhaps when we give too much they take advantage and want a great deal more. There is a great deal to think about in the paper, and it is worthy of our consideration, and in returning to India in a few days I shall put it before our directors and see if in any way we can help labour which is employed in the mills. We have tried to interest the men in sports and that kind of thing, but it is rather difficult. We have given them special opportunities, and we have given them a bonus when there is a good year, and in that way we seek to encourage them and to show them that if they have grievances they should come to us and not go to the outside agitators (Hear, hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN. Is there any representative here from the Workers' Welfare League of India who would like to speak? We understood that some representative would attend.

DR VAKIL. I am here, but I am not prepared to speak. Another representative of ours was intending to come, but he has had another engagement, and I have not come prepared to speak.

DR GILBERT SLATER. Mr Chairman, I scarcely intended to speak because I have to leave in a few minutes, but I should like to touch upon one point in the paper, namely, the statement that the experience of the Buckingham Mills is that it takes two and two-thirds Indian workers to produce the same output as one Lancashire worker. Now there is no doubt that that statement is arithmetically correct, and it is founded upon exact statistics of the number of workers and output of the mills in Madras, but I should like to suggest that it is somewhat misleading as a test of efficiency. This difference of output is mainly due not to inferiority in the Indian worker—though a certain degree of inferiority does exist—but to the greater cheapness of the Indian worker. The Buckingham and Carratic Mills were recently working considerably longer hours than Lancashire mills, though not as long hours as permitted by the Factory Act, and the looms, for example, were working at a greater speed

than is customary in Lancashire. In those circumstances the managers find it economical to put four men to four looms, whereas in Lancashire you put one woman to four looms. Now four looms will turn out more work with four weavers attending them than they will with one weaver attending them. In Lancashire it is worth while to put only one worker to four looms because you save three workers' wages. But in India the wages are so small that it is not worth while to save that amount of wage at the expense of running the looms at a lower speed, and so the actual real difference between the efficiency of the Lancashire operative and the efficiency of a Madras operative is very much overstated by that ratio of two and two-thirds. A great deal of the inefficiency, such as it is, is due to the causes mentioned in the paper, namely, the prevalence of malaria and hook worm. It is calculated that over 90 per cent of the people in Southern India suffer from hook worm, and are considerably debilitated thereby. Malaria is also a very debilitating disease. Both diseases are largely preventable, and if they were prevented I very much doubt whether you would find any very great difference in the capacity for mill work between the South Indian operative and the Lancashire operative.

I remember when I was visiting the works at Ishapur an old friend of mine was in charge of a brass foundry there, and he told me they worked the retorts there at a slightly greater speed than was customary in Birmingham. They employed 50 per cent more men to a given amount of apparatus, but those men worked twelve hours instead of eight hours as in Birmingham, so that the men working there turned out as much as in Birmingham. It is their custom, as we have heard, to go off for about two months every year and spend their time in the country doing agricultural work, and so come back restored in health and able to start another ten months' work again. Speaking broadly, what you may call the industrial inferiority of the Indian must not be in any way attributed to racial or to permanent causes. India suffers, in my opinion, much more from inefficiency in supervision and direction than in inefficiency in labour. The Indian supervisor and the Indian employer are not equal to the British supervisor and employer, and in order to get efficient work it is frequently necessary to fetch supervisors from other countries and pay them accordingly, and this increases costs. It is also to be admitted that because of the low standard of comfort high wages do not act as an incentive to increased production. Finally, I may add my impression that the Indian compares better in factory work with the European than he does in agricultural work.

A LADY asked if it was not a fact that the food of the natives also played a large part in the question. That had been noticed in Japan during the war.

A LADY said she had been in India for many years and her husband grew coffee out there, and she would like to say she did not think that higher wages in any country in the long run made people any happier or gave them a better standard of comfort in any way, because everyone knew that higher wages merely meant that money was cheaper, they had to pay more for every commodity. But if a man had a little more money



in his pocket, what was he to do with it? Wages had gone up in India four or five times recently, but she did not think the people were any better off, they had enough for their food and such clothes as they required, and their cooking utensils. The question was which was the happier life, the simpler one or one which was crowded with all sorts of belongings? You might have a large house, but when a man died he could not take the house away with him. Undoubtedly the simpler life was the best, the fewer things you had the better. When a man could earn his food in two days he would not of course work more than two days, and why should he? She did not think any Englishman would go out to India to dig a field for enjoyment, the climate was not suitable, and she questioned whether giving them higher wages and teaching them more would make them happier in the long run (Hear, hear)

Miss SCATCHERD read the following letter received from Dr Pollen

Mr Pillai's paper is, in every way, an admirable one, and it is bound to do good, and I can only hope my old friends in Bombay and India will do their best to bring Capital and Labour closer together, without the ruinous strikes which have disgraced England. I fervently pray that the Labour leaders of the East will give ear to the wise advice of Lord Chelmsford. I would also take this opportunity of urging upon our friends Mr Arthur Henderson, Mr Clynes, and Mr Thomas to do ditto here at home, but I think they are already inclined that way, and now really realize the suicidal folly of the lamentable strife between Capital and Labour. Co operation, not Gandhi's non-co-operation, is the true watchword, and Courts of Inquiry and Conciliation are most urgently required.

I am very glad Mr Pillai has drawn attention to the remarks of Mr J A Kay (the Chairman of the Bombay Millowners Association) at the last general meeting, and I rejoice that so many members of the Association are taking an active interest in the conditions and surroundings in which the workpeople of Bombay live.

I remember how in old times the condition of the Bombay "chawls" (labour huts) used always to break my heart. "Welfare work" was, and is, much needed in this direction, and (as my friends know) even as Abkari Commissioner I long ago consistently advocated brighter surroundings and attractions to keep people out of the liquor shops. I was always "at" the labouring classes to work out their own regeneration, on the lines of Smiles's self help, and, amongst the masters, I remember how Tata and Currimbhoy Ebrahim used to aid, even in those old days, in the spirit of social service. Their concerns are still doing good work, and I can only hope with Mr Pillai that the captains of Indian industry may succeed in avoiding the pitfalls and dangers of the excessive industrialism of the West, and that the Indian labourer may be led to regard his employer as a brother and a colleague, and realize that they both perform equally valuable services to the community.

I could say much on the alleged scarcity of labour and on the false and contradictory idea that India is "*over-populated*" "*Over*"-anything is bad, even "*over*"-religion. But what is *over*-population? It is notorious that vast tracts of India are sadly *under*-populated, and that if emigration

were only properly directed and the people encouraged to do all that people can do in the right direction, the population might be trebled, and the whole earth subdued to the manifest benefit of all mankind. In short, there is very much more in the first Biblical mandate with promise than is generally supposed or admitted. But increase in population must be followed by due subjection of the earth before the blessing can be fully realized—and “subjection” means “the sweat of the face” and harder work than most people care for.

As you will admit, even the little labour (now earnestly advocated by the League of Nations) which is involved in learning a simple international language that will help to unite all the peoples of the earth is regarded as too much of an effort.

Mrs FOX-STRANGWAYS asked whether the efforts of Mr Wadia to form Trades Unions amongst the people of Madras had had the right effect, and whether he thought the procedure did any good?

The CHAIRMAN Mr Pillai did deal with that in part of the lecture, but unfortunately, owing to pressure of time, he had to omit certain parts.

Mr PILLAI also answered to the effect that Mr Wadia's action in itself was right, but that as it was initiated at an inopportune time it did not have the right result.

MISS SCATCHERD I had the privilege, sometimes a painful one, of attending Mr Wadia's addresses in this country, and if his information to his countrymen was as lacking in accuracy as it was in this country I do not think it could have done very much good.

Mrs FOX-STRANGWAYS said the reason she asked was that a few days ago she received a circular written by Mr Wadia to the members of the Theosophical Society, from which he had resigned, saying he had been working on wrong lines. He felt the work had been carried on on wrong lines, and in his circular he expressed the opinion that he intended to work on different lines in order to help India, and he regretted some of the work he had done before.

The LECTURER That is a question that has been dealt with in my paper. I consider that, while Mr Wadia might have been actuated by the best motives, his intervention in labour disputes was rather ill-timed, and that the effects of his action were unfortunate to the whole country. I am not a politician, but only a student of economics, and it appeared to me to have been an unfortunate moment to begin a work of that character. The Madras Mills, among the employees of which Mr Wadia started his trade-union activities, were then engaged in war work. The one thing before the minds of everybody was increased production—down with the enemy first—and Mr Wadia's policy of organizing labour, while quite commendable in itself, came at a very inopportune moment, because it seriously interfered with production, and I am inclined to think that, but for Mr Wadia's example of mixing up politics with questions purely industrial, and thus confusing the real issues, there would not have been so many strikes in India.

The CHAIRMAN I will now close the discussion with a few words. Personally I believe very much with Dr Slater that there is no great

inherent inferiority in the work of the Indian labourer to that of the European I was immensely struck, when I was in India eighteen months ago, with the work I saw done by Indians at the Jamsheldpur iron and steel works That is a branch of industry to which it takes a long time to train men up For instance, in the work connected with the blast furnaces, which is most severe, the American supervisors were of opinion that the Indian could be perfectly well trained to do that work, but that it would take a long time, and especially would it be necessary to change their habits of food The human frame required certain kinds of food, almost irrespective of climate, to do certain kinds of work, and there they anticipated it would take possibly a generation to form men fit to do work such as we do in this country But there was no question of there being any inherent inferiority

With regard to the whole question of labour, I think there has been really a new angle of vision in India The employers have in many cases shown an admirable spirit and are now working on the best possible lines Certainly, from what I saw at the Buckingham Works in Madras and at some of the jute mills in Calcutta, the most ample provision was being made for the health and comfort of the workers and their children I am rather sorry the Workers' Welfare League of India's representative's only contribution to our debate was a sort of rather derisive laugh at the idea of the possibility of really intimate feelings of friendship and good-fellowship between Indian labourers and their employers I must express my regret that this gentleman should not have contributed something more valuable to our debate

Dr VAKIL But it is the fact

The CHAIRMAN Then what is the object of the League?

Dr VAKIL To raise the standard of the working people and get all the fruits of the work they do

The CHAIRMAN In antagonism to the employer

Dr VAKIL It may be

The SECRETARY That is practically the Bolshevik idea applied to India

Dr VAKIL Yes, it is I am not ashamed of it

The CHAIRMAN I think you will all agree in passing a vote of thanks to Mr Pillai for his very able and instructive paper (Hear, hear, and applause) Years ago I thought it was very regrettable that so much of the intellect and industry of the rising generation in India should be directed mainly to the literary side of education and to law, and it is surely a great thing for the future that there should be now a large number of young men in India who are studying other branches of knowledge which are at least equally necessary for the future prosperity and welfare of India (Hear, hear, and applause)

In calling for a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the SECRETARY remarked that their chief regret was that Dr Vakil had not given them his point of view Debates were apt to be lifeless if everyone merely agreed with the lecturer The Association welcomed the expression of divergent views, so long as they were given in temperate language

## THE HINDU OUTLOOK ON LIFE

BY STANLEY P RICE, I C S (RETD)

AN Indian calling upon the Collector of a district was asked to take a cup of tea. His answer was, "I have no objection whatever on the score of caste, but I am afraid I should offend in the manner of taking it" Of course the objection was at once overruled, and of course the tea was taken without the slightest offence to European ideas of decorum But this shyness, though it may not be the most important factor, at least contributes towards the difficulty of establishing social relations between the two races It is not necessary to dwell once more on the oft-repeated theme of the difference in manners and customs, of caste restrictions, and of sex relations These things, no doubt, play a large part in the difficulty of bringing the two races into closer social intercourse, but the awkwardness which besets everyone who is brought into intimate relations with a man of another race never quite disappears With the best will in the world and with the most genuine desire of both races to approach one another, this feeling of constraint almost always stands in the way of that camaraderie which Englishmen show to one another Moreover, the Indian especially admires a dignified reserve, and the light badinage which is meant for affability is often mistaken for mere impertinence and sometimes for studied insult An Indian gentleman told the writer in the course of conversation that he thought a lack of a sense of humour on the part of his countrymen was largely responsible for what estrangement there might be between the two races

For these reasons the Englishman—and especially the English official—who attempts to analyze the outlook of the Hindus is met by the initial disability that he is only permitted so see a small part of the more intimate Indian

life. Even when caste restrictions do not forbid entrance to a house, and even when the ladies do not shut themselves up, there remains always an exaggerated politeness, an air of formality, which stands in the way of an inner knowledge of, and therefore to some extent of sympathy with, the Indian point of view. Within these limitations, however, it is still possible to examine in some detail the Hindu outlook on life, which, as we are constantly told, differs so much from what we find in the West.

The first and most obvious factor in Hindu life is religion. This is indeed a commonplace, for if there be one thing that has struck every writer on India, it is the way in which religion seems to permeate every action and to govern every hour of the day. We are amazed at the minute attention to ritual observance which accompanies even such daily necessities as washing, eating, and dressing. The ancient dramas tell of gods and heroes, the songs are largely of the kind we call sacred, and the whole mental attitude of the thinking people is influenced by religious philosophy. Many—perhaps most of us—are too apt to look upon the religion of the Hindu as a succession of ceremonial rites. To such it seems that, like the Pharisees of old, “they fast twice in the week,” “they make broad their phylacteries,” and they bring into daily observance every letter of the law while ignoring its spirit. It seems to them, in fact, to be a religion hardly bound up with doctrine and almost divorced from ethics. But this is a superficial and unsympathetic view. It not only ascribes to the whole Hindu population an attitude which at most only applies—if it applies at all—to a single class, but it also sees the complete religion in the outward manifestations which strike the eye. One has but to apply the test to England and to ask what impression the religion of the country would make on a foreigner ignorant of Europe and of Christianity. “Religion,” he would say, judging from outward observance only, “enters very little into the life of these people. They go to church once on Sunday, as well as on a few feast

days in the year They also have religious ceremonies connected with birth and marriage and death, but beyond this I cannot discover that they have any religion" If such a view of Christianity is preposterous, we ought at least to hesitate before we assume the Hinduism of to-day to be nothing but an artificial observance of innumerable ceremonies

Nevertheless, as far as the limited knowledge of an Englishman goes, there seem to be two radical defects in the Hindu system A punctilious attention to ritual down to minute details is apt to obscure the most important part of every religion In carrying out the details of the law, the Hindu is in danger of finding that, as an able writer says, "these ritual and ceremonial observances sterilize any higher spiritual life"\* It may be objected that these observances are connected with caste, and that caste is essentially a social and not a religious institution, for, as the word denotes, the central aim of "caste," or, as the Indians call it, "varna" (colour), is purity of stock But caste is now so closely bound up with religion that it is not easy to differentiate between them, and the orthodox Hindu is—outwardly, at any rate—the man who rigidly observes not only the ritual of his creed, but also the customs of his caste The writer once asked an intelligent Brahmin why, if the religion takes so little account of the body, and if all material things are really only Maya, or illusion, there should be so much fuss about eating and drinking The answer might have been that this was a misconception of caste, which is not religious, but social, and that intercommunion with others would gradually tend to impurity of stock But what the Brahmin actually said was this "The soul is the inhabitant of the body, therefore, what nourishes the body nourishes also the soul, and since the soul must be kept free from contamination, it is necessary to keep strict watch against the contamination of the body, which would lead to the defilement

\* Sir V Chirol, "Indian Unrest"

of the soul" The answer may not satisfy the purely practical mind, but it is conceived in characteristically Hindu terms, and it serves to show how caste is interwoven with religious ideas in the Hindu mind

But if we protest against the exaggeration of ritual ceremony we must avoid falling into extremes For the incidents of daily routine serve to keep the spiritual life prominently before the eyes of the Hindu, as a Christian writer has pointed out, Protestantism is inclined to "depreciate forms and ceremonies, the use and value of rites and sacraments," which are "neither dead forms nor illogical accretions upon a religion otherwise spiritual" The marriage of a daughter is not a mere matter of worldly advantage or convenience, it is a religious obligation The birth of a son is a cause of rejoicing as the fulfilment of a religious necessity, and the failure to produce an heir is little short of a calamity

Secondly, one is tempted to notice a great dearth of spiritual teaching The temple priest is busy with the orthodox performance of rites and ceremonies, and too often he fails to be "an ensample of godly life" The dancing girl, a name now synonymous with one of less innocent import, is often the common property of all men, and it cannot be denied that the practice has left an impression of immorality which reacts upon the whole view of religion The guru, or spiritual adviser, who commands great respect, especially from the women, is not unfrequently an ignorant man, learned only in Sanskrit formulas which he cannot interpret, and conversant only with the minute observances of ritual which he endeavours to enforce He speaks not as "one having authority," but "as one of the Scribes" Consequently, when the aforesaid Brahmin was pressed in argument, he said, "We do these things because our guru tells us to do them," and he then had to admit that the guru himself did not know the reason why It has been said that our Western doctrine of religious neutrality has been pushed too far, that our educational system ignores

religion too completely, and that in a country where religion is the dominant factor we ought to provide religious instruction. Such a view may or may not be correct in the present conditions of India, but surely if the Hindu gurus really knew their business and were really the spiritual pastors and masters which they profess to be, the secularization of State schools would be a matter of smaller importance.

It will be observed that the main defect above alleged is the failure on the part of the professed spiritual advisers to inculcate any definite system of ethics. The material is ready to hand, for the sacred books of the Hindus contain many ideas as lofty as those of the Christian Scriptures, and there is many a man who treasures these sacred sayings, repeats them, and lives by them as a true Christian may be said to try to live by the Gospel. The Bhagavat Gita, for instance, teaches man to—

“ Find full reward  
Of doing right in right ! Let right deeds be  
The motive, not the fruit which comes of them ”

And again, speaking of the dignity of labour

“ He who with strong body serving mind  
Gives up his mortal powers to worthy work,  
Not seeking gain            Such an one  
Is honourable    Do thine allotted task !  
Work is more excellent than idleness,  
The body's life proceeds not, lacking work ”

But while these sentiments are familiar to the few, they are for the most part unknown to the mass of the common folk. To them religion means little beyond the annual round of rites, ceremonies, and festivals. Are the boons they ask of the gods the “pure heart” or the “right judgment,” and not rather a son, plenteous crops, or increase of cattle ? They have, no doubt, an instinctive ethical code of their own which tells them it is wrong to steal, to murder, or to commit adultery, nor can we condemn them out of hand if they do not place on certain virtues the value at which we appraise them, for, as Lecky tells us, different races and different ages have held different ideas about the



relative values of the virtues But such an ethical code can hardly be identified with religion, it is instinctive or traditional

If this state of things appears rather chaotic, the doctrine of Karma comes to the rescue It is often said that while Christianity is individualistic, the Hindu religion destroys individuality, and this statement seems to be inspired by the doctrine of the Immanence of the Deity and of the ultimate absorption of the individual into the Divine Essence But in one respect at least the Hindu religion is as individualistic as the Christian If, on the one hand, we are told that—

“ All's then God !

The sacrifice is Brahm, the ghee and grain  
Are Brahm, the fire is Brahm, the flesh it eats  
Is Brahm, and unto Brahm attaineth he  
Who in such office meditates on Brahm ”,

we are also told that—

“ When one,

Abandoning desires which shake the mind,  
Finds in his soul full comfort for his soul,  
He hath attained the Yog ”

“ Such an one

Is Muni, is the Sage, the true Recluse ”

And the doctrine of Karma deals with the individual It is both prospective and retrospective, in the present life a man is atoning for past sins, the very fact that he exists as a man is both the witness to, and the measure of, his imperfections in a past state, while his actions in his present incarnation will determine his future fate, for a good Sudra may pass into a higher period of probation as a Brahmin, while a wicked Brahmin may have to inhabit the body of some lower animal This is a doctrine which is very generally held and is essentially religious It is, in fact, analogous to, and perhaps, in that it provides a more graduated scale, better conceived than, the Christian doctrine of future rewards and punishment. It has its value, though the conception may not be ethically as lofty as that which teaches us, “ because right is right, to follow right ”

While, therefore, it would be wrong to say that the Hindu religion consists entirely of rites and ceremonies, it is generally of these that we are thinking, and not of the esoteric ideas, when we say that religion is the dominant factor of Hindu life. A kind of religious sanction is conferred upon the most trivial incidents of everyday life, even the railway engine on a new line becomes deified, at least for the time being, and receives its due share of offerings. A wedding is fixed, not to suit the convenience of the parties, but in accordance with astrological advice, a husband must be chosen for a marriageable girl within a given period under pain of divine displeasure, and these things cannot be subordinated to mere social or material necessities, it is the latter which must give way. The necessity for a religious sanction was very clearly seen during the time of the "Unrest", for whether the authors of the more violent pamphlets fell naturally into that mode of thought, or whether they adopted religious imagery to catch the popular ear, the favourite picture of India was that of the Divine Mother bound, bleeding, and tortured by foreign demons, and calling on her sons to rescue her in the name of religion. This is probably also the explanation of the misuse of the Christian Scriptures in 1906, when, "shamelessly appealing to the language of Christ," it justified the enlistment of boys and young men in the service of a lawless propaganda by the words "Suffer little children to come unto Me"\*

This dominance of ceremonial religion is calculated to hamper the process, and thereby to narrow the conception of material prosperity. Western civilization is sometimes described as a mere scrambling for money, a desire to get rich at all costs and at any sacrifice of higher things. But this is mere special pleading. The Indian is just as anxious for wealth as the European, and if he is not so rich, the difference is not to be found so much in an abstract contempt for wealth as in other causes. When important

\* Chitrol, "Indian Unrest," p. 353

business has to be neglected owing to the astrological calculations for a wedding which lasts five days, to funeral rites which last twelve days, or to a pilgrimage which may run into months, it is clear that business methods must suffer. If caste restrictions forbid free intercourse with other nations, and hence a knowledge of the world in the literal sense, it is evident that the commercial horizon must be narrowed. Moreover, caste laws and traditions very often contract the field of possible enterprise, so that the Brahmin is limited to the learned professions, the Vaisya follows the caste profession of commerce, the Sudra takes up the ancestral occupation of agriculture, of carpentry, or of weaving. The Government, no doubt, does its best to encourage all castes, and the lower ranks of the different departments—the policemen, the sepoys, the forest guards—are freely recruited from the Sudra ranks. But even in Government service the influence of caste is very apparent, the Brahmins hold the majority of clerical appointments, while the Sudras largely fill the ranks of the medical profession, not certainly because of any special aptitude they have for medicine, but because the laws of pollution restrain the Brahmin from dissecting dead bodies, from dressing or touching the pariah.

The state of commercial morality shows clearly enough that it is the ceremonial rather than the ethical side of religion which enters into daily life. Of course, notions of right and wrong may differ, but honesty between man and man, with the confidence which is bred of it, is one of those cardinal points which no system of ethics ignores, and it must unfortunately be admitted that commercial morality is not all it should be. It is seldom that we see business conducted on the grand scale to which we are accustomed in Europe, is not the most that is usually found a family combination of father and son or brothers, all looking more or less suspiciously at the clerk or the accountant?

Lack of organizing power is also to blame. India is full of contradictions, and while we find constant suspicion in large

enterprises existing side by side with the most childlike confidence in the matter of petty loans or of small transactions, so also we see that the want of that co-operation which is customary in such village affairs as the sharing of water is one of the great obstacles to trade on the grand scale. Indian companies on the European model are in consequence as yet comparatively rare, for India is unused to such organization, and her expectations are cast in a less ambitious mould. She thinks in silver where Europe thinks in gold, in hundreds instead of millions. Consequently, her ideas of material prosperity are far less magnificent, just as her needs are fewer, a rich man in India is a person of very ordinary means according to European notions.

But wealth itself is only a means to an end. We have seen that within the limits which circumstances prescribe to the ambitious the Indian is just as anxious to grow rich as the European, but his object is different. One may say that in England, setting aside the question of charities, the two main objects of the man of average means are to live in comfort and to leave a provision for those dependent on him. If his income expands, he will move into a larger house, keep more servants, and generally allow himself the luxuries which he has hitherto not been able to afford, always provided that his expenses do not seriously imperil the future of the family. The object of the Hindu is rather dignity than comfort. The peculiar constitution of Indian society, whereby the care of dependents devolves even upon relatives comparatively remote in degree, ensures a protection against that destitution which is a feature of so many sad cases in England. The acquisition of wealth means the increase of power and the extension of patronage. The rich man, especially in rural parts, is the king of the village, his word is law, his commands are instantly obeyed, and everyone is more afraid of him than of the more remote and less arbitrary official ruler.

There is something in this conception of the value of wealth which suggests a theoretical rather than a practical

view of life—a view probably arising from the nature of the religious dogmas of Hinduism and emphasized by the omnipresence of the religious sanction. We have seen that the religion which pervades everyday life is in its most obvious manifestations a religion of ritual and ceremonies. But even then these terms must be carefully distinguished, for evidently the thing to be done is not the same as the way of doing it. The punctilious attention to ritual need not influence practical everyday life, except in so far as it is given an exaggerated importance to the extent of interference with the business of the day. But the meaning of, and the imperious need for, the ceremonies themselves take us back to the philosophy of Hinduism, and this is abstract and metaphysical in the extreme.

No man can escape entirely from the religious environment in which he has been brought up. However little an Englishman may accept Christianity, however crude may be his conception of Christian dogma, he is still a member of a Christian nation, and must be influenced—perhaps unconsciously—by the force which has played so great a part in the fashioning of Europe as we know it. And in like manner the Hindu partakes of the mysticism, of the contemplative abstractions of his religion, which issue rather in thought than in action. His ideal is to take alike

“Pleasure and pain, heat, cold, glory and shame”,

to be—

“Of equal grace to comrades, friends,  
Chance comers, strangers, lovers or enemies,  
Aghens and kinsmen, loving all alike,  
Evil or good ”

And such an attitude of mind is only to be obtained by seclusion from the world, its passions and its vanities

“Sequestered should he sit,  
Steadfastly meditating, solitary,  
His thoughts controlled, his passions laid away,  
Quit of belongings ”

“Setting hard his mind,  
Restraining heart and senses, silent, calm,  
Let him accomplish Yoga and achieve

Pureness of soul, holding immovable  
Body and neck and head, his gaze absorbed  
Upon the nose, and, rapt from all around,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Musing on Me, lost in the thought of Me "

Such passages as these—and they are typical of the constant teaching that the highest goal is a concentrated meditation on the Divine Essence, the universal self—lead directly to the doctrine of Maya, which affirms that all material things are an illusion of the senses, and therefore to an unpractical habit of thought. Professor Wegener, of Berlin, who travelled to India with H I H the Crown Prince of Germany, even declares that the former Indian apathy in politics and affairs of administration is due to this doctrine among other causes. Convinced of the unreality of mundane things, the Hindu “smiles at those who trouble themselves with such trifles, and leaves the whole business to them.” Sir Valentine Chirol refers to the doctrine in more cautious terms when he says, “The whole world in which he lives and moves and has his being, in so far as it is not a mere illusion of the senses, is for him an emanation of the omnipresent Deity” \* It is, however, very doubtful if any such definite influence can be ascribed to this doctrine. In its extreme form it is a practical absurdity, for if pain and wealth and food are really only shadows affecting shadows, why do they possess the importance they certainly have? Why do the Hindus cry out for autonomy with a vehemence that has at times extended to the shedding of blood if politics and government are trifles to be dismissed with a contemptuous smile? Surely the orthodox Hindu who acted upon the doctrine of Maya would be only too glad to get someone else to do the dirty work of this shadowy world, while he was left free to contemplate “the things that are more excellent.” The plain fact is that to the average Hindu, as to the average man everywhere, food is food and a flower is a flower, though it may please subtle theologians to draw distinctions between

the essential divinity in them and the shadowy husk which is apparent to the senses. It is true that Hinduism teaches men to strive after an ideal indifference to pleasure or pain, heat or cold, poverty or wealth, but we are talking of things as they are, not as they ought to be. To the practical man of affairs the doctrine of Maya need mean no more than the old familiar teaching that, compared with the spiritual and eternal, the earthly and temporal are of small importance. How far this doctrine is a reality in the affairs of everyday life depends in India, as in Europe, on the temperament of the individual.

The life of every man is governed, according to Hindu ideas, by the three "qualities" called Sattuvam, Rajas, and Tamas. Sattuvam may roughly be defined as equanimity, coupled with a sense of proportion. The highest ideal is contemplation of the truth as manifested in the Deity, and compared with this all else is of little or no account. But this ideal can only be reached after a life of discipline, which consists of the exercise of virtue for its own sake, purified from any thought of the consequences and untainted by any motives of gain or pleasure or desire. Rajas is an intermediate state in which actions good in themselves are tainted by human passions, and the character is flawed by lapses into wrong ways. Tamas is ignorance and darkness from which only evil can issue. No man is debarred from the highest or condemned to the lowest state, virtue and vice are not the exclusive property of any caste. This conception explains many things. It explains why the Brahmin caste claim so great a superiority, for, as knowledge leads to enlightenment, the "learned" caste is evidently in a position favourable to the attainment of Sattuvam. It explains why in some cases pariahs have been canonized, for Sattuvam is open even to the lowest. It even explains to some extent the reluctance of Brahmins to enter into any but the learned professions, for trade and commerce are too much occupied with the things of the world, and leave no time for the contemplation of divinity.

It might be thought that "to govern India according to

Indian ideas" would connote the almost exclusive employment of Brahmins, since it has been shown that by far the largest share of the "quality" of Sattuvam should naturally fall to them. But the three "qualities" shade off into one another, and the best that can be hoped of the great majority of men is a high state of "Rajas", for there are few men who have so mastered themselves and their lower nature that the ordinary passions of humanity have become quite extinct. And since any man may attain to the highest state, the Government of India is free to choose, even in terms of Hindu thought, those who most nearly approach to the highest state, irrespective of their caste.

Whether the abstractions of religious philosophy are the outcome of the original character of the people or themselves moulded it, it seems highly probable that they do influence the modern intellectual attitude. The doctrine of Maya is, no doubt, the logical conclusion of a philosophy which attempts to treat the world as non-existent, but we have seen that no one acts consciously and definitely upon such a doctrine. Nevertheless, a people taught to fashion its conduct upon such abstract lines is apt to carry this mode of thought into worldly affairs, and so the Hindu often betrays a somewhat unpractical attitude in dealing with them. But this lack of initiative, this want of constructive power, is just what we should expect from a mental attitude of which the religious philosophy is the type, and probably to a great extent the cause. This shows itself constantly. Someone states a proposition in general terms, the idea is enthusiastically received, everyone talks and writes about it, perhaps even the machinery to carry it out is invented, and then the whole thing fails for want of ability to grasp the details. Everyone, for instance, both English and Indian, fully sympathized with Mr Gokhale's ideal that all the youth of India should be educated, if need be compulsorily. Nobody denies that education is in itself an excellent thing, but very few Indians faced the difficulties or suggested any remedy for the two main obstacles—the want of money and the dearth



of teachers The principle was enough, the details would right themselves

But no notice of Hindu life would be complete without a reference to its æsthetic side For there is no people in the world in whom the love of art is so deeply ingrained and so universal as the Hindus In England the established poet obtains reverence and respect, but the man who is striving for self-expression in verse is too often the object for cheap jokes and unsympathetic laughter The lover of music who desires only the highest forms is looked upon askance as somewhat of a crank, not perhaps always without resentment that he should be arrogating to himself a certain superiority, while the registers of our libraries show that the popular appetite is for fiction, often of a very *uninspired kind* *The Hindu is artistic to his finger-tips* The very villager has his music parties and his recitations of the epics Poetry and the drama are closely interwoven with music, and the music of India, whatever its appeal may be to us, is to the Hindu as the very voice from heaven—the creation of the Supreme Being, the delight of the celestial throng, and the special nursling of India's favourite god This love of art has, perhaps, some influence in retarding trade expansion among the Hindus His productions were the *fine muslins* and the *shimmering silks*, the gold and ivory carved with loving hands, the woodwork fashioned with careful attention to minute detail Trade to him was a thing of beauty, he read it in the phrases of romance and poetry, and finds now some difficulty in learning that it is more often written in the language of very dull prose We see this æsthetic attitude even in everyday life—in the dress of men as well as of women, in the carven doorways of some poor village house, in the decoration of a loved musical instrument Where India has copied from the West she has not usually been successful, that is because she has not been able fully to appreciate Western standards of æsthetic taste, where she has followed her own line of thought she is unsurpassed And if there be any who dispute this conclusion, let him

commune with himself and ask whether his judgment is not warped partly by appraising India by her imitation of the West, and partly by his own inability to understand Indian æsthetic canons. For if you examine closely the Hindu claim to the spiritual life, you will find that its content is made up largely of religion and æsthetics.

It cannot be said that these broad outlines present a faithful picture of the life of the masses—of that great majority which lives in the villages and subsists wholly by agriculture. For them life means, first of all, a continuous struggle for existence—a long battle against adverse seasons, ruinous pests, and other dire calamities. The mystical side of religion touches them no more than learned discussions on the nature of the Atonement touch the Christian millions of East London, nor are they called upon to decide questions of large import, which demand the practical mind. Their horizon is the limits of the next village, their most serious politics a dispute about water or an epidemic of cholera. Not that religion is without its influence, on the contrary, it is nowhere more apparent than in the villages, but it is no longer a religion of mysticism or ethics of philosophy or sacraments. It is almost wholly a religion of mythology and superstition. It is true that such generalizations are apt to be misleading. A wedding or a funeral is as important a ceremony to the rustic as to the educated Brahmin, and if the rustic does not understand the ritual, neither can the Brahmin explain the esoteric meaning of the service which unites a man with a maid. But to the villager a wedding is rather a festival than a sacrament, and in this, as in other ceremonies, he considers only the superficial accompaniment.

On general lines, then, the Hindu conduct of life does not differ greatly from that of Europe. The first care of every living thing is simply to live, and every civilized man desires to live uprightly and to maintain himself in ease, comfort, and dignity according to his enlightenment and opportunity, having due regard to the claims of this world and to his expectations of another. And yet we are

told, quite justly, that the civilizations of East and West are essentially different. Wherein lies this difference, and what is the cause of it? A people of great intellectual power, extraordinarily adaptable, and infinitely patient, has not, until recently, made any notable contribution to science, to research, or to invention. The activity of Europe finds no time for meditation, the meditation of India finds no time for activity. Climate, tradition, history, and especially the want of a national life, have no doubt had a great influence on the Indian character—an influence which must never be underrated, and if these things have not been considered, it is because the first three are too obvious and the last too complex for discussion in this paper. But it is not enough to refer the whole difference to these causes. Religion is undoubtedly the great motive power in India, and in the term "religion" is included the caste system. But if it is wrong to ascribe any single phenomenon to a definite religious dogma, it is also unsatisfying to be told that "religion" (by which is generally meant the outward observances of rites and ceremonies) permeates the whole life of the Hindu, or to read prose pictures of "men, almost naked, standing in the Ganges to salute the sun feeling after God, if haply they may find Him"\* It is true that the pure philosophy of the Hindu religion has been overlaid with much mythological extravagance, which appeals to the grosser minds, but to confuse the two is as unfair as to give the story of Noah the same religious value as the Sermon on the Mount. Every educated Hindu, whatever be his opinion of the mythology, reveres his sacred books, and is willing to discuss their philosophy with eagerness and courtesy.

For the motive power of the Hindu religion is neither its mythology nor its idolatry, but its philosophy. No man can truly sympathize with the Indian, no man, in Lord Morley's phrase, can "get into his skin" until he recognizes that. And yet the mystery is only half revealed, for, let the Englishman be never so sympathetic, let him put off to

\* *Contemporary Review*, May, 1915, p. 635.

the utmost those airs of "superiority" and arrogance of which he is accused, there will always be an inner sanctuary where the deeper life of the Hindu is hidden behind the veil

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, December 4, 1922, when a paper was read by Stanley P Rice, Esq, ICS (ret'd), entitled, "The Hindu Outlook on Life" The Rt Hon Viscount Peel, GBE (Secretary of State for India), was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present, The Right Hon Lord Pentland, GCSI, GCIE, and Lady Pentland, General Sir Edmund Barrow, GCB, GCSI, and Lady Barrow, Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, GCIE, KCSI, Sir John G Cumming, KCIE, CSI, Sir Patrick Fagan, KCIE, CSI, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, KCIE, Lieut-Colonel A D Bannerman, CIE, MVO, Sir Duncan J Macpherson, CIE, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr A Porteous, CIE, Mr F H Brown, CIE, Mr N C Sen, OBE, General F C Carter, CB, Mr F C Channing, ICS (ret'd), Mr K N Sitaram, Lieut-Colonel F S Terry, Mr M N Ali, Mr S C Gupta, Lieut-Colonel T S B Williams, Lady Beauclerk, Baroness Steinheil-Schier, Mrs Anderson, Mrs A M T Jackson, Miss Scatcherd, Mrs McClement, Miss Corner, Mrs J R Reid, Mrs Arnell, Miss Marx, Miss Pratt, Miss Turner, Mrs Drury, Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr A Pullar, Mr H S L Polak, Mrs Fox-Strangways, Mr Edwards, Mr F J P Richter, Mr Arnold Lupton, Mrs White, Miss Shedden, Mr F Grubb, Mr S B Mitra, Mrs Martley, Miss Baudains, Mr C L Simpson, Colonel Lowry, Professor Bickerton, Miss Peel, Miss Trotter, Mr P Padmanabha Pillai, Mr and Mrs Q Henriques, Mr Robert Mann, Colonel L C Swifte, Mr and Mrs E F Allum, Mr G M Ryan, Lieut-Commander H O Boger, RN, Mr S K Dutt, Mr Herbert Gibbon, Mr Ram Hari Bhagat, Miss L M Gibb, Mr J Sladen, ICS (ret'd), Mrs Herbert G W Herron, Capt H W Whittaker, Mr S D Pears, Mr G F Sheppard, ICS (ret'd), Mr and Mrs W F Westbrook, Capt Rolleston, Mrs Faridoonji

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regret to say that after I have introduced the Lecturer I shall have to leave, and therefore I shall be unable, as I had wished, to give my views on the points raised in his paper We are met here to-night to listen to and discuss a lecture given by Mr Stanley Rice on the "Hindu Outlook on Life" There are very few people whom I can think of who are more competent than Mr Stanley Rice—I am speaking of my own countrymen—to discuss the points of view of the

Hindus Mr Stanley Rice, I believe, during the whole of his career in India was engaged in work in the districts. He was not caught up into some of those high places in the North of India where there is less opportunity, perhaps, for being in close touch with the views of the peasant or the cultivator than if one spends one's life in district work. There is another great strength that is possessed by Mr Rice and that is that he spent most of his time in Madras. Hinduism has had what I may call an almost uninterrupted development in that province, for, shall we say, 3,000 years, which is a period of time long enough to satisfy most of us in these shorter-lived political communities. In the North, as you know, Hinduism had to fight for its life against other religions and alien rules, and therefore it has not had in the North, as it has had in the Madras Province, an uninterrupted development for its social arrangements and its religious tenets. On two grounds, therefore, I strongly recommend the views of Mr Stanley Rice to you. On these two grounds I think he is particularly qualified to be an interpreter to his own countrymen of the views and of the outlook of the Hindu towards life and his general view of life. I understand that Lord Pentland will be good enough to take my place in the chair, and nobody could be better qualified to preside (Applause)

The Rt Hon Lord PENTLAND in the chair, the Lecturer then read his paper, entitled "The Hindu Outlook on Life"

Mr BHUPENDRA NATH BASU said it was difficult for anyone but a native-born Hindu to realize what was the Hindu outlook on life. He was not surprised that even the Lecturer, who had spent a large portion of his life in India, had not succeeded in catching the spirit of the Hindus in regard to life. He had stated that their life was a round of ritual and ceremonies. Ritual and ceremonies held a very important place in the life of the Hindu, but the ritual and ceremonies conveyed a very different impression to the Hindu to what they did to the outsider. With all the ritual and ceremony were connected customs which prevailed in the past ages, and therefore handed down the stories and customs of the past. He knew very little of how Hinduism was practised in the South, but in his part of the country there were various agencies by which the doctrines of Hinduism were taught. There were expositions in the public temples or at the houses of fairly wealthy men to which the whole country-side was invited. On one occasion, travelling on a P and O boat from Colombo to Calcutta, he met a missionary who had been attracted by his reading the Bible every morning. The missionary gentleman asked him why he did this, and he replied that among the Hindus there was no conflict of faith, and he offered to take him to one of the expositions at which the people received their moral instruction. In Calcutta, where he lived, there was an open space where men well versed in the scriptures and who were well qualified to illustrate the scriptures to the common people gave

expositions When he took the missionary to the exposition there were 2,000 to 3,000 people seated on the ground When the missionary heard the exposition, and when he heard the Brahmin dwelling upon the great force of virtue, and when he saw men and women deeply stirred, he had realized how the Hindu assimilated the teachings of the past All of them who were familiar with the Bible knew of Christ's method of teaching through parables, which were the stories of lives of men and women in common villages The Hindu also did the same It might seem strange that one who had received Western education should still follow the ritual and ceremonies of his ancestors which had been handed down to him from time immemorial, but there was in Hinduism, he believed, a provision which did not exist in any other faith, either Christian or Muslim A Hindu might be a worshipper of the sun, but they were all Hindus The Hindu went by stages He could not, perhaps, at once go to the religion which teaches of one invisible God, but in time he would do so Just as Western people believed in the conservation of energy until it was utterly dissipated, so the Hindus believed that if a man had done a good act he would reap the benefits of it, and if he had done a bad act he had to bear the consequences One would see in the evening in a village perhaps, a grocer reading to an audience and expounding to them some stories, and one would see the ordinary people standing round trying to understand him He once had heard a peasant say that they were like bullocks tied to a pole going round and round working a mill which produces the oil, the bullock did not know why he went round, and in the same way they did not know why they moved round, they did not know for whom they manufactured the oil, but they did it all the same That was the Hindu state of mind, but it was a mistake to say that the Hindu's attitude of mind was unpractical In Hindu life they had two elements, contemplation and action He realized that he was addressing a Christian audience A Christian might be an ascetic who had given up the world, but the Hindu must discharge his duty to his ancestors he must bring up his family, he must do his duty to his country and his neighbours, so that Hindu religion was different from other religions There was an old saying, "Love your neighbour as yourself" They had a saying of greater significance "Love all creatures, neighbours or not neighbours" The Hindu life was a mixture and a blend which through many centuries had held its own against the invasions of the Assyrians, the Huns, and the Muhammadans (Applause)

Lieut -Commander H O BOGER, R N, asked what was the qualification for the canonization of India's holy men, was it merely confined to a life of seclusion and meditation, and was active social or any other work necessarily excluded? Mr Boger reminded the meeting, and his Indian friends in particular, that England also had her saints, and that day—December 4—chanced to be the

anniversary of one of the most notable—St Osmund, who was canonized 500 years after death, and only after repeated petitions from his diocese. His relics were said to be responsible for many well attested miraculous cures. He came over to this country with William I, was Chancellor, and afterwards one of the earlier Bishops of Salisbury. His career was a contrast to St Thomas of Canterbury, who was canonized very shortly after his assassination at his own altar in Canterbury Cathedral, and St Alban, who was canonized by virtue of his martyrdom.

MR F C CHANNING said that there were two doctrines of Hinduism which if he accepted, would lead him to look at the world from an entirely different point of view—the doctrines of the Four Ages and of the Great Night. That of the Four Ages was a movement from perfection to imperfection. They began with the first age in which righteousness ruled and went down gradually to the second and third ages, and then to the fourth age in which they lived so that there was no hope of progress because they were gradually descending\*. Life also was described as a continued alternation of day and night, and then at the end came the Great Night when everything was dissolved. It led to nothing because everything finally dissolved. In England they looked forward to gradual development in the direction of perfection. Did the Hindu hold as a principle governing his life that the progress of the world through the ages was always for the worse, and did he hold that whatever was done was swallowed up at the final dissolution of Great Night, so that it was for all eternity one revolution without end and without achievement?

MR ARNOLD LUPTON said he had listened to the paper and to the subsequent speeches with the utmost interest. When in India eight years ago he had seen people who were as poor as it was possible for people to be having regard to Western ideas. These people lived in mud huts, they had little or no clothing and no furniture, and yet they appeared to be happy. They had a smile upon their faces, as if they were at ease with the world and the world at ease with them. An Indian gentleman had said that it was their religion which made them happy. They had heard much about Indian education, and learned professors had advocated that Indians should be better educated, but one of these professors admitted in answer to a question that the Indian people were religious, polite to one another, industrious and law-abiding; then, why talk about education? What more did they want?

MR SITARAM said the canonization of holy men in India was only attained by leading a pure life. He denied that the Hindu religion was from progress to retrogression; they wanted to go on progressing to perfection. The Hindus had their stories concerning morality and a variety of other things explained at the expositions before referred to. The Hindu was by nature and by climate more

\* See, e.g. Manu, 1. 81, 82.

meditative and less active than the Englishman, but the Hindu was more humane and merciful

MISS SCATCHERD read the following note from Dr John Pollen

"The Hindu outlook on life is, after all, the only true one. It recognizes that 'the world and all that is in it will only last a minute.' But it does see that while the world lasts (however 'maya,' or shadowy, that lasting may be) it is very real. From the Hindu point of view the world is all in a state of probation or progression from unseen to unseen, and all men are in progression with it. Thus, after all, is really and truly the Catholic or Christian outlook. Christ is *implicit* in all religions, as His Spirit is their common cause. The idea of redemption (vaguely intimated when not expressly declared or revealed) is common to the whole human race and every human heart. The Hindu, in common with every other race and religion, feels that some 'buying back' was necessary, and sanctification (the being rendered fit to take advantage of this universal redemption) is certainly taught or implied in the Hindu doctrine of Karma. Salvation is not any geographical privilege, any inclusion in heaven or hell of anyone of any race or creed whose character and fitness have not sent him there and enabled him to stay. Redemption is offered to everyone, and each human being shall receive a fair field and all the favour God and things can give. But according to both the Hindu and the Christian outlook whatever offends and maketh and loveth a lie must be purified, purged of, and consumed away, while the simple truth must be sought, and if sought will be found. That truth is not far from the Hindu and from each one of us. So much for the outlook and true religion of the Hindu in so far as philosophy is concerned. In practice, as the Lecturer shows, many imperfections arise and shortcomings come in, as, indeed, in all religions. But Mr Stanley Rice is right in maintaining that the English official attempting to analyze the outlook of the Hindu is met by the initial difficulty that he is only permitted to see a small part of the more intimate Indian life. However, even from this partial view one can catch a glimpse of the chief influences of that outlook, and Mr Rice is certainly not wrong in putting religion in the forefront."

The LECTURER, replying to the remarks on his paper, said it had been a great privilege to hear the remarks of Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu. He would like to correct one wrong impression, that he had said that Hindu life was a meaningless round of rites and ceremonies. The greater part of his paper had been intended to show the exact opposite. Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu had also stated that he (the Lecturer) had said the Hindu was unpractical, and he had claimed for them that they bound together theory and practice in a way which Western people did not. Perhaps action to the Hindu did not mean quite the same thing as action to a Western man. It was possible they took a somewhat different



view of contemplation and meditation. There were a great many things which Christians read from the Bible, but if they looked at the life round about them in London they found that these things were not as a matter of fact carried out. He did not accuse the Hindu of doing nothing, but merely said that his outlook on life was more of the meditative and contemplative type than that of Englishmen, who rather prided themselves on being practical. With regard to the remarks that the Hindu proceeded from perfection to imperfection, that question perhaps had been answered by Mr Sitaram. The law of Karma went on until it became dissipated by absorption into the Divine essence. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure we are all very grateful to Mr Rice, and it is a real compliment to his paper that it should have provoked such an illuminating and interesting discussion. I am sure most of us have been more than delighted at the time we have spent in considering the subject. (Hear, hear.)

Professor BICKERTON, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said that recently when investigating the basic principles of all the great religions he was astonished to find how almost identical they were. It was only the expansions or additions, that had been made gradually, in which they differed from one another. One point was that everything a man possessed should be dedicated to the wellbeing of men as a whole. That was fundamental. Religion did not make in any way for forcible appropriation, it simply said, as Lord Bledisloe had so strongly impressed upon the agriculturists, that they should act as stewards in trusts, each looking on himself as a cog in the cosmic mechanism, and each trying to work for the good of all. That was the idea which had come out in the reading of Mr Rice's paper.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

Sir MANCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that Lord Pentland had come to the rescue of the Association by accepting the position of Chairman of the Council on Lord Lamington succeeding to the Presidency, and the value of his services to the Association might be measured by the close attention which he had been already giving to the proceedings at the Council meetings. They had all witnessed that that afternoon he had presided over them at short notice with conspicuous success. (Cheers.)

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

## NOTES ON THE EXCISE POLICY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

BY KHAN BAHADUR ADARJEE M DALAL, B A

My opinion generally on the Excise policy of government, as laid down by the Government of India,\* is in agreement with that policy. The actual results of that policy, as it has been carried out in practice, have been partially successful in so far as it has, at least during the last five years in the Bombay Presidency, checked consumption or kept it stationary and raised considerably Abkary revenue. In judging and testing results of that policy it is necessary to remember how Abkary administration was carried on in the concluding part of the last century until it was organized and controlled by Sir Charles Pritchard from 1875 by abolishing the out-still system and introducing central distillery system and concentrating distillation in prescribed areas to supply those tracts.

In the Bombay Presidency, and for the matter of that in the whole of India, every big village or group of villages possessed an out-still, and for a nominal sum liquor was manufactured from mowra or toddy or jaggree of any strength and in any quantity without any control or check or strength, and no records or registers of issues of gallonage were kept. Huge quantities of liquor were turned out without any check in crude stills of any strength and sold or bartered for country produce in rural areas, and if a register or record had been kept of those days the beneficial result of the policy of Sir Charles Pritchard would be correctly judged now. Of course in those days the Excise officers had more in view the revenue point than the temperance or health factors, but with the revenue, the

\* Letter F D 5001 Exc. of September 7, 1905

control, and the checks the latter came to be beneficially affected directly and indirectly. Out-stills were abolished and control and check were imposed on the manufacture and sale of liquor, and gradually duty on liquor which was graduated on a low scale began to be increased. The Excise Department, with the new policy of concentration, and the raising of the duty, had introduced the 'minimum vend' system by public tenders. Respectable contractors of good standing and status were invited to take up farms and were obliged to guarantee a minimum revenue to Government in a particular tract or area, and if they failed to fulfil that minimum they were obliged to make up the deficit to Government. All excess revenue went to the Excise Department.

This appears on the face of it as encouraging consumption, but such a safeguard was necessary in the initial stages of the newly organized Department to check illicit manufacture and import of liquor. Hundreds and thousands of petty stills in rural and other urban areas were abolished and displaced, and an army of illicit manufacturers could have flooded the district with contraband liquor if honest and energetic and able contractors had not been selected by the Excise Department to co-operate with Government. By the contractors binding themselves to Government to guarantee a certain minimum revenue it became their interest to make good that minimum by their exercising checks on the retail licensees to sell proper measures in an undiluted form and in keeping a large private establishment to prevent illicit distillation and the import of contraband liquor, Government alone through their establishment could not have completely exercised the same check which a person who stood to lose a large amount might do.

From the early and old reports of the Excise administration it will be found to what an extent this illicit trade was carried on and how it was gradually put down. As illicit distribution and import ceased legitimate consumption automatically increased, and with it Government Excise

revenue also increased. To outside critics this appeared as if the policy of the Government helped to raise revenue without taking any measures to check consumption. I wish to emphasize this point—namely, that in the first few years legitimate consumption was bound to increase from year to year as a result of a gradual cessation of the illicit traffic of liquor. If, as mentioned above, the Government or the public had any records or registers of the issues and sales in the out-still tracts to compare figures of consumption before and after the organization periods, it would have clearly proved that the object of that was to diminish consumption without diminishing revenue. So rife was this illicit traffic and so loose was the control exercised that even in big cities like Bombay, Surat, and Broach the distillers, who were also the retail licensees, evaded payment of duties of liquor on issues with the connivance of the distillery inspectors, who were badly paid and who had no knowledge of the strength of spirit or its purity, and who could not read a hydrometer or thermometer, and who had no knowledge of them. Gross malpractices took place and prosecutions were launched against them, and it took many years to check them. Illicit liquor was openly distilled from mowra, not only in out-of-the-way areas and forests, but in large cities such as Ahmedabad, Broach, and Surat, near the vicinity of the bungalows of D S P and the collectors. Servants of retail licensees and distillery proprietors and their friends the Dhobis, fish-wives, and other trades and crafts, such as gardeners, carpenters, etc., got free liquor in the distilleries, not only to drink but to take home, with or without the consent of the Excise inspectors. It can hardly be imagined what a tremendous quantity of such unduty-paid contraband liquor must have passed into consumption during the years unchecked and unregistered. When checks were imposed and strict control began to be exercised it was but natural that they directly helped to indicate a large increase in legitimate consumption.

Sir Charles Pritchard next turned his attention, after

auction to the highest bidder without fixing any maximum prices, that is to say they were free to charge any price they liked. The results, as expected, brought in a huge amount of revenue from license fees amounting to lacs of rupees. The liquor was proportionately sold at a higher price by the licensees to recoup the enhanced fees paid by the licensees, and although Abkari revenue reached the highest flood level, consumption did not keep pace with it, but, on the contrary, showed a slight reduction. Recently temperance movement, far from being a social organization, degenerated into a political propaganda, and picketing was introduced by the non-co-operation party to put immense obstacles in the way of Government and public revenues, with the result that the movement took a violent turn and the licensees and Government lost heavily by such a violent and dangerous political propaganda.

From the above history it may be safely said that Government have justified their policy of a maximum of revenue with minimum consumption if correctly and carefully judged. I admit that in the early days of the organization the hands of Government were not so clean and they were more keen and anxious for revenue than for checking consumption, and temperance policy and the temperance preachers and party did not find favour with the Excise Department. But the policy, in its being carried out from its initial stages to the present times, has resulted, with or without the intention of Government, in making progress towards reaching the goal enunciated by the Government of India, when it is remembered that in the seventies of the last century, and before that period, there existed no policy at all, and when there was no organization drunkenness and intemperance were allowed to the detriment of public morals and public health, without any compensating gain of increased public revenue. Huge consumption did exist in its aggravated form of cheap undiluted liquor of any strength, and public revenues for generations were allowed to be sacrificed. If early steps

to check consumption had been taken by unduly raising prices and duties or by rationing, it would have resulted in failure and the steps that are now being taken to gradually reduce consumption could not have been successfully introduced

#### CHECKS ON TODDY

I am not in agreement with the policy of Government in regard to toddy. With liquor Government have included toddy and checked its consumption, making it so dear as to actually lead poor people in absence of a cheap and healthy drink to resort to liquor. In Guzarat and the Deccan toddy has been a healthy natural drink from immemorial times, and a bottle of unadulterated toddy with joowari bread and some pulse and lentils and onions formed a complete solid, nourishing meal and drink to the people. Government, by increasing tree tax and auction fees, and imposing harassing restrictions, naturally enhanced the price of toddy, and as its admixture with water and with other deleterious substances to doctor it could not be detected or kept in check by the officers of the Excise Department on account of its increasing price, Government have deprived the poor of their healthy, natural, and cheap drink. If the high Government officers would but trouble to come into close personal touch with the people and care to know the feelings of the masses, they would find that this grievance of the people and their discontent are deep-seated, and for the sake of the paltry revenue of a few lacs, neither the health of the poor nor their innermost feelings and real wants are seriously considered. It is the opinion of the Excise Department that toddy, in its fermented form, is as injurious to health and public morals as liquor. With due deference to their opinion, and the opinion of some of the medical profession, I am, however, of the opinion that toddy in its natural undiluted and moderately fermented state is as healthful and delicious as wine and beer. What wine is to a Frenchman and the other wine-drinking people of the West, and beer

to the Englishman, toddy is to a poor husbandman, a Bheel, a sea-faring Kharwa, a Koli, and a hard-working labourer. Under toddy booths and in the shade of trees situated in the open fields the selling of pure unadulterated, undiluted, and undoctored toddy with the simple and homely and nourishing food is an ideal meal and drink for the poor man, making him and his family contented and happy. Some of the many physical and mental ailments to which he is liable are cured by a moderate use of this natural drink, and such is his rooted faith in its efficacy to restore health and spirits that he becomes dejected and discontented when he finds that he cannot buy a bottle of pure toddy at from four to six times the price at which it used to be had in the old times. It is fortunate that toddy drinkers are equally under the ban in the propaganda of the non-co-operators. If they had correctly measured the innermost feelings of the poor people, I am inclined to believe that they would have inflamed them to a pitch to break out into open lawlessness and violence, and raised a formidable army from their ranks to cast their lot with the rowdy mob who break out into open violence and riots. These poor people are law-abiding and quiet, and I would respectfully recommend that in the revised Abkari policy to keep down drink, toddy should rather be encouraged as drink in its pure state by placing it within the reach of the poor at a moderate price rather than imposing any hard restrictions upon it. By this policy a boon will be conferred on the poor, and the poor will appreciate this with gratitude.

## ANCIENT CHINESE SPIRITUALISM

BY PROFESSOR E H PARKER

THE Chinese philosopher Meccius (a Latinized form of Mēh-tsz, just as Mencius is the Latinized form of Mēng-tsz) died two centuries later than Confucius, and is known to have been alive six years before Mencius' death in 289 B C : we may therefore say roundly that his political, social, and philosophical work was done during the later half of the fourth century B C, which makes him a junior contemporary of Aristotle, who, like Meccius, was accused of irreligion, but, unlike Meccius, simply ignored the myths of the ancients. He is not classed amongst the 53 so-called Confucianists, but as one of the six Meccians, a class of his own personal creation, consisting mostly of his own pupils. Of his and their tenets, we shall at present only speak of one, which has in the minds of the orthodox or Confucianists brought his name into particular disrepute. This is best brought out in the last or 48th chapter of his works, composed somewhat in the style of one of Plato's dialogues, in this particular instance Meccius says to an interlocutor "The Confucian doctrine contains four guiding principles sufficient in themselves to bring ruin upon the world (i.e., China, viewed as an Empire). The Confucianists hold that Heaven has no insight, and that ghosts have no spiritual power.\* If you do nothing to conciliate either Heaven or the ghosts, that fact is thus one of those four sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, again,

\* What Confucius himself really said was "(1) Wisdom consists in a devotion to popular rights, and in a hold-offish respect for ghosts and spirits. (2) The Emperor Yu (2205 B C) was simple in his own food and drink, but liberal in his filial offerings to ghosts and spirits. (3) If you fail in your duty to living man, how can you do it properly to ghosts and spirits?"



expensive funerals and protracted funerals, double coffins, innumerable wrappings, processions on a wholesale scale, weeping and wailing for three years, this mourner supported in front, and that one leaning on a staff behind, pretending not to be capable in their grief of seeing or hearing what goes on,\* that fact, again, is one of those four sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, once more, fiddling, singing, miming and posturing, practising instrumental music, etc., that fact again is one of those sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire. Then, finally, the claim that fate decides definitely whether you shall be rich or poor, attain old age or die young, whether order or confusion, peace or peril, shall prevail without possibility of increase or mitigation, which means that superiors need not trouble themselves about governing in their higher sphere, and inferiors need not trouble themselves about obeying in their lower sphere—that fact, again, is one of those sufficient to bring ruin upon the Empire."

His interlocutor remarked "Come, come! you are abusing Confucianism too strongly!" The philosopher Meccius said "Had the Confucianists not really these four principles of administration, then what I say of them *would* be abuse—but, as a matter of fact, the Confucianists *have* these four principles of administration, and conse-

\* Confucius protested against one of his deceased pupils having an expensive funeral because he himself stood as it were in the superior position of a father to him, at the same time he did not forbid the other disciples, as personal friends and equals, to carry out the fullest obsequies. As to music, Confucius was himself something of a virtuoso. As to fate, Confucius said (1) "At fifty I knew Heaven's fate" (2) "Alas! he is dying, it is fate," it is also recorded that the Master seldom spoke of Fate. It may be added that "Life" and "Fate" are still colloquially expressed by the same word—thus in Confucius' time one of his pupils had a short Life, and another was discontented with his Fate (or luck in life)—in both cases the root idea is "command" or "behest", hence the word officially and colloquially still means the "decree" of a ruler. Confucius says again "Whether my teaching prevail or no is a matter of fate," and "the man of high mind fears three things—*i.e.*, (1) Heaven's fate, (2) his rulers, and (3) the words of a sage." Finally, "He who does not know his fate or destiny can never become a man of high mind."

quent y what I say of them is quite true, and I tell it to you now for your information" His interlocutor had nothing further to suggest, and went out. The philosopher Meccius, puzzled, called him back, the man entered, took a seat, and spoke afresh thus "What you have just said, Sir,\* is partly to the point, but do I understand that you have no praise for (the dynastic founder) Yu and no abuse for (the losers of dynasties) Kieh and Chou?" The philosopher Meccius said "By no means"

Another visitor to Meccius' classes addressed Meccius as follows "You, Sir, hold that spirits and ghosts have a spiritual intelligence, and possess the power of inflicting injury on men, enriching those who do good, and bringing sorrow on those who are tyrannical. Now, I have attended your classes for a long time, and yet no happiness has come to me from it. Can it be that your words, Sir, contain in them something which is *not* good? Or is it that the ghosts and spirits are *not* discerning?" The philosopher Meccius said "Though you have not attained happiness, why conclude off-hand that my words are not good? And why that ghosts and spirits are not discerning?"

In this short paper we shall not examine further into the interesting bandying of words between Meccius and his enquiring friends, but at once turn to the specific chapters on "Ghosts and Spirits" (No. 31) and on "Fate"† (Nos. 35, 36, 37) in which at great length and with wearisome iteration he upholds the former and ridicules the latter. He sets out with the theory that the degeneration of modern China (*z e*, 300 B.C.) is largely owing to the growing disbelief in the good old principles guiding the revered ancient Emperors—namely, that the ghosts and spirits make a point of rewarding the good and punishing the wicked. First of all, says he, you have only to go to any hamlet or village

\* It is interesting to see the modern word *Sien shêng* (Signor or Sieur) used for "Sir"

† His attitude towards fate is somewhat like Artemus Ward's attitude towards "the Crisis" sixty years ago "Where is it? What is it? Show it to me. Has anyone ever seen it?"

in order to find that there are innumerable persons there who have actually and in person seen or heard spiritual objects or spiritual sounds. Then he describes what happened to an Emperor in 782 B.C. when his majesty unjustly killed one of his ministers, this minister said "If my lord kill me, though innocent, supposing the dead have no consciousness, then there is an end of it, otherwise, before three years are out, I shall cause my lord to know it." Three years after that, the Emperor was hunting with a vast retinue in the park when, at the hour of noon, the dead minister suddenly appeared in a dark chariot with a white horse, himself wearing red clothes and hat, armed with a red bow and red arrows, he pursued the Emperor and shot him dead in his own equipage. This act was witnessed or heard of by thousands of people, and is duly recorded in the dynastic annals,\* as a warning to all not to provoke the resentment of ghosts and spirits by slaying innocent persons.

Then, again, there is the case of a vassal ruler (who reigned in 626-604 B.C.) visited by a spirit in the shape of a bird when he was sacrificing at noon-time, the duke was alarmed, and was for making off, but the spirit said "Do not fear! God† is gratified at your brilliant virtue, and has sent me to grant you nineteen further years of life."

Next comes a story of 504 B.C., when the reigning vassal of what is now the Peking provincial region put to death an innocent minister. The facts are much the same as in the first case mentioned above, the guilty duke was warned by the innocent minister he had condemned to death that should the dead possess consciousness, in less than three years' time "my lord shall know it", but in this case the

\* See Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. 1, p. 278

† It is plain that the much-argued word *Ti* (God, Emperor of Heaven, Emperor) cannot here mean anything human, but the God Dr Legge insists it always originally meant in the vague Chinese mind. The question of *Ti* and God is carefully and ably discussed in the *Chinese Recorder* for November, 1922

duke was slain with a red club in his chariot just as he was proceeding to sacrifice to the local spirits, thousands of persons witnessed the occurrence, which is duly recorded in the annals of that state (now no longer existing) \* Then there is the case about 600 B C of an acolyte in the state where Confucius' ancestors lived† where the junior sacrificial attendant was found offering wines, grains, gems, etc., of inferior quality "Are you responsible, or is the reigning duke responsible?" asked the senior acolyte The reply was "The duke is young and feeble, I am responsible." The senior acolyte then raised his crosier and beat the offender to death, as is recorded in the annals of that state, and as was witnessed, or "heard of," by thousands present or in the neighbourhood, tradition passing on the warning that punishment at the hands of ghosts and spirits must follow disrespect in carrying out ancestral worship Finally, there comes confirmatory evidence from the state corresponding to the northern half of Shan Tung province, when, about 750 B C, two ministers were engaged in litigation for three years without either obtaining judgment in his favour The reigning vassal ruler hesitated about killing them both, lest they should, or one of them should, be innocent, and hesitated also about dismissing the case, lest they should either or both escape due punishment, so he sent the two men to sacrifice a sheep or goat to the spirit of the local realm Whilst the pleas were being read out, there was observed commotion in the boiling water and some spattering of blood, the sheep then jumped up, and butted one of the litigants so that he died on the spot, as is duly recorded in the state annals (now apparently no longer existing), and as was witnessed or "spoken of" by thousands of persons and by other vassal kings, all which

\* This story is not well authenticated in any case In Forke's *Lun heng* it is four times mentioned in connection with another ruler in modern Shan Si, but of the same date.

† This is the site where recent excavations have disclosed specimens of early writing, proving that no *connected* literature could well have existed in China previous to, say, 1200 B C See *As Soc Journal* (London), 1918-1921

proves that persons who seek ordeal without making sure of the truth first will surely be put to death by the ghosts and spirits "Regarding the matter, therefore, from what these books all say, how can it be doubted that there are such things as ghosts and spirits?" For this reason it is that there is no deep valley, dense thicket, or inaccessible waterfall where ghosts and spirits do not lie perdu, and witness events from their hiding-place. If, says the philosopher Meccius, you cannot believe the evidence of all these persons' ears and eyes, then surely sceptics will accept, as models to us now, the examples of our ancient Sacred Monarchs (2e, 2850-1100 B.C.)? Here Meccius enters into a long description of the various altars and sacrifices made use of in ancient times, the way in which rewards and punishments were distributed with this or that shrine as witness, how no expense was grudged to the spirits, however extravagant it would have been if incurred for mere human beings, not to mention the exhortation committed to writing on bamboo or silk, or, again, engraved on metal or stone trays or ewers immune from rot or weevil, beseeching sons and grandsons in perpetuity not to forget their duties to the spiritual powers. Those who fail to believe nowadays (300 B.C.) simply ignore the *tao*\* or way of the superior man, if they ask in what books do you find allusion to spirits, then it may be replied that the chapters in the "Book of History"† relating to the first three‡ hereditary dynasties each and all have distinct references to heaven, God, spirits of the mountains, streams, etc., punishing and rewarding before distinctive shrines, and also references to prayers for long life. What would be the use of prayers for long life unless you be-

\* *Tao* was one of the foundations of ancient faith, a millennium or more before *Taoism* in a new form was "invented" in the sixth century B.C., and in the same way *ju* meant "the educated," long before in the fifth century B.C. it began to be applied to that insistence upon the old educational ideas called Confucianism.

† Confucius re-edited it, and perhaps Meccius possessed early editions.

‡ Began 2205, 1766, 1122 B.C. in turn.

lieved you were praying to conscious and responsive ghosts and spirits? How could any government be successful over people who were only kept from lasciviousness, violence, dishonesty, and rebellion by fear lest the ghosts and spirits might perceive and punish their delinquencies? Wealth, power, bravery, weapons will avail you nothing against the ubiquitous and omniscient ghosts and spirits. Here Meccius at considerable length goes once more into the hackneyed old stories of 1766 and 1122 B.C., when the all-powerful last Emperors of the first and second hereditary dynasties were respectively dethroned and slain for their crimes by the founders of the second and third dynasties. It has been well said, he adds, that no one is too insignificant for divine favour, no one too great to escape retribution at the hands of ghosts and spirits.

There is much more in the same style, but, whatever the modern reader may think of the respective merits and defects of Confucianism in the other three matters that Meccius discusses, it can scarcely be denied that Meccius largely begs the whole question in the matter of ghosts and spirits, whilst the cautious and conservative—almost negative—views of Confucius on the same subject are, if vague, at least “safe.” We ourselves in Great Britain, after 2,000 or more years of further reflection, are now reopening the question of spiritual phenomena, Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle seem to be more or less “on the side of the (Meccian) angels.” Confucius is perhaps good enough for most of us hesitants—so far as he goes. The writer himself is disposed to accept—for his own use—Mr Punch’s definition of the Coalition of about twelve years ago: “Well, it’s this way. Some say as ’ow it be, and some say as ’ow it baint, but Ah say there’s no knowins and there’s no tellins, and, maark me, I ain’t fur wrong!” The discussion on fate must be left (readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* permitting it) to a future occasion.

## SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS

(BY A CORRESPONDENT NOW IN INDIA)

ALTHOUGH nearly four years have now elapsed since the Armistice, there is no indication, in India at any rate, of any lack of problems presenting themselves for solution. In the domain alike of economics and finance, of internal and foreign politics, and of military affairs and policy, situations of the utmost difficulty are still confronting those in whom the government of the country—central and provincial—is vested

Turning first of all to the financial and economic situation, it is at once observed to be one presenting many difficulties. The financial changes made by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were undoubtedly sound. The old system, by which certain heads of revenue were divided between the central and provincial governments, was not only indefensible in theory, but if it had not been abolished, would have stultified the idea of devolution and provincial autonomy, which is one of the central features of the new constitution. On the other hand, the central government must be kept going, but the method by which this is done, though inevitable—the system of provincial contributions to the central exchequer—has already been the cause of much trouble and heart-burning. The remission of the Bengal contribution for three years, voted by the Assembly in September, 1921, may have been just and necessary, but has had the deplorable result of causing violent grumblings among the other provinces. In Madras every organ of opinion, British and Indian, official and non-official, is unanimous in demanding a reduction in the provincial contribution, which the Assembly has refused to concede. This refusal is not altogether unnatural, because, although

provincial budgets may be hard to balance, that of the central government is even harder, owing to the prevalent trade depression, the collapse of the rupee, and the heavy cost of military operations on the frontier

The principal economic problem at present confronting India is one not peculiar to this country—the fact that a rise in prices has taken place unaccompanied by an equal rise in wages Dr Mann's studies of rural conditions in the Bombay Deccan\* are excellent material for showing how the effect of war prices has been, while benefiting a few lucky folk, to drive many families below the level of solvency who were previously above it Similar effects have been noted in other parts of India, and the urban labourer is no better off than his rural confrère The situation has not been made any easier by the disastrous monsoon of 1918, followed by the unsatisfactory one of 1920 One disquieting feature of the situation has been the growth of bad feeling between different classes of the population as a result of economic causes The "aika," or anti-landlord, association in the United Provinces is an example of this, and the result of the political extremists making capital out of such purely economic movements was seen at Chau Chaura There are, however, many hopeful signs The good rains of this year and last should restore the rural situation, and as the world gradually settles down the reopening of India's foreign markets should improve the situation in the towns But few can doubt that serious economic and financial problems will worry all Governments for some time to come

That the economic situation of the rural districts is improving may be inferred, quite apart from all other evidence, by the comparative cessation of violent political outbreaks of a distinctly anti-Governmental character, though, of course, this cessation may also be accounted for by the essential fatuity and hypocrisy which have for so

\* "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" (Oxford Press, Bombay), Study No 2, chap vii



long marked the non-co-operation movement. As soon as the mass of the people discovered what close observers had long perceived—that much of Mr Gandhi's programme was actively disliked by most of his followers, and that many items of it, such as the wearing of "khaddar" and the boycott of foreign cloth, law courts, and Government schools, were not being in the slightest degree\* observed even by leaders of the movement, then they began to be suspicious. Their suspicions developed very quickly into complete apathy when each fixed date for "swaraj" passed without any indication that the "Satanic Government" had fallen or showed any sign of decay. The arrest of Mr Gandhi on March 10 and the intensification of the existing dissensions among the other leaders which at once followed this event, all helped to discredit and paralyze what remained of the movement, and many of its erstwhile supporters are chiefly interested in discovering what has become of all the money subscribed to the "Tilak Swarajya" and other funds<sup>1</sup>.

The gradual collapse of the non-co-operation movement has had two main results. Many movements which had their growth in the general political turmoil of 1920-21, and whose initiation and revival were largely due to the active assistance of the non-co-operation leaders, are now by their continuance, in spite of the collapse of that movement, shown to be really independent of it. The disappearance of the "pseudo-national" movement centring round Mr Gandhi shows these movements up in their true light as racial and separatist. The quarrel between the Akalis and the Mahants, from the time of the Nankana Sahib tragedy up to the present moment, at Guru-ka-bagh, has carried on its separate existence unaffected by the rise and fall of the non-co-operators, in whose fortunes no Akali apparently has much interest. The violent Islamic party are apparently undeterred by the failure of the Moplah revolt

\* Vernacular newspapers in the Punjab have recently published some very bitter articles on this subject

and the imprisonment of the Alis. Encouraged by the victories of Mustapha Kemal, they have taken the opportunity, offered by the disappearance of Gandhi from the scene, to try and get the remains of the non-co-operation movement into their hands, and run it for their own ends. The result has been that except among the leaders, who still more or less keep up appearances, Hindu-Moslem unity, even the pretence of it, seems as far off as ever. The recent occurrences at Multan are only an example of the way the political current is setting again into the old channels of religious and racial disputes.

The second effect of the collapse of the extremist movement has been noticeable in a general tendency of the Moderate parties to make greater pretensions than they have yet asserted. They feel that now the extremists are generally discredited, the game is in their hands, at any rate far more than it was. Their method of asserting their new position was, however, quite deplorable. The Simla session of the Indian Legislature had been comparatively peaceful, and was apparently drawing to a quiet close, when the Assembly suddenly refused leave to introduce a Bill regarded by Government as of very great importance and urgency. The importance of this action is very great for several reasons. In the first place, the power of the Governor-General to "certify"\* legislation never having as yet been exercised, the Assembly began to feel it was working up to a position as a kind of Sovereign Parliament. It forgot that it was a body of men elected on a very restricted franchise, and was intended to be more in the nature of a school for administrators and a political experiment than anything else. So sudden and unexpected a reminder of the realities of the situation will make the Moderate parties all agitate for more and extended political changes. It is well known that any further reforms would be at present a mistake, but the situation of the Govern-

\* Under the Government of India Act, 1919, section 26, subsection (1) (b)

ment, who will have to reply with a firm negative to all such demands, will not be a pleasant or an easy one

But the second result of the Assembly's brusque and discourteous action is likely to be far more serious and important. It was not only the action itself, but also the subject in regard to which it was taken, which is likely to lead to political complications. The Bill, leave to introduce which was refused, and which was "certified" by Lord Reading, and then introduced into and passed unanimously by the Council of State, is one to safeguard the ruling chiefs of India against virulent and libellous attacks emanating from British territory. Its summary rejection by the Assembly, without apparently a line of it having been read, must make the princes thoroughly convinced of what most of them have long suspected—that not only the extremists, but the vast majority of Moderates and Liberals, are opposed to them. The result of so open a declaration of sentiment as the Assembly has seen fit to make cannot but make the task of the Government increasingly difficult. How to fit in the position of the Ruling Chiefs with the "progressive realization of responsible government in British India" is a problem which will become, not easier, but harder as time goes on. The Montague-Chelmsford Report\* dealt very vaguely and hesitatingly with the whole question, and so long as the Central Government remains bureaucratic the question will not come to a head. But the moment any suggestion of introducing responsible government at Delhi is made this question will have to be tackled. It is obvious that the princes will never consent to be subordinated to any Executive dependent on any Indian Parliament, and the present problem before the Government of India consists in not only considering how to keep the peace between the chiefs and the aggressive Liberalism of the new Legislatures, but also to consider how the existence of these States and any move in the direction of the introduction of responsible government in the Central Government can be compatible

\* Pp 238-249

In the provinces the situation is better than most people expected it would be under the dyarchic system. Budgets have been discussed and settled, and legislation debated and passed, without any serious quarrel between the official part of the Government and the Legislative Council. There is some reason for believing that M.L.C.'s are already beginning to be worried over the fact that new elections are not very far off, and are trying to get into better touch with their constituents. Shrewd observers are already remarking that it will not be until the elections are over and the new councils sitting that the real testing time of dyarchy will begin. The elections of 1920 were hardly representative. For many reasons large numbers of voters never exercised the franchise. If any reasonable number of the "silent voters" of 1920 vote at the next election we may see strange results.

In the sphere of foreign affairs the signature of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty in November, 1921, undoubtedly eased the situation on the North-West Frontier, but two factors have of late rather disturbed the feelings of satisfaction with which that event was greeted. In the first place, there has been a very considerable increase of recent months in the military activities of the Amir. When we read of the introduction of compulsory service and other reforms, we are apt to wonder against whom these preparations can be directed but ourselves. In the second place, the entire collapse of the Greek army and the settlement of Mudania are disquieting. The effects of Kemal's victories on the internal situation have already been noted, but it is also worth observing that the fanatically Islamic sentiment, not of Afghanistan only, but of most of the border tribes as well, is bound to make the Indian Government reflect seriously on the possible effects of the state of religious exaltation into which they have been impelled by the Turkish victories. Comparisons made between the policy of Lord Reading and his Council, as evinced by the memorandum urging the Home Government to revise

the Treaty of Sèvres, and the policy so often urged at home of resistance to Mussalman demands, has revived the old controversy as to whether races and religions in general, and Islam in particular, respect more the man or Government who respects and forwards their claims, or one who openly resists them, and whether too open an advocacy of the Khilafat cause is not construed as weakness. This is again a serious problem of foreign policy which has given, and will continue to give, much anxiety to the Indian Government.

Closely allied to the problems both of foreign and internal policy is the question of the army and of Indian military policy generally. The inflated character of the Army estimates (66 crores) is a favourite subject for declamation on the part of Liberal politicians, especially those who live a long way from the frontier<sup>1</sup>. The Commander-in-Chief, realizing that many mistaken views on military policy were due to lack of knowledge, has wisely abandoned the attitude of secrecy and mystery which used to envelop Army Headquarters, he has not only personally addressed the Legislature with complete frankness, but arranged that certain members of it should tour the frontier and see the situation for themselves. He has personally, while refusing to reduce the fighting forces below the safety level, seen to great savings being effected by means of administrative reorganization, and further avenues will no doubt be explored by the Inchcape Committee. The disbandment of units surplus to the agreed post-war establishment has proceeded apace, and is now practically complete. This action has been inevitable, but has had somewhat regrettable results in the way of expense to Government incurred in compensating these officers, and in the loss of careers which these officers have had to suffer. The principal military problem which lies before the Indian Government is how, while forwarding economy in every possible way, to regain and retain the confidence of its military servants. The goodwill of the Army and the classes which supply recruits

for it is of the utmost importance. The right class of recruit must be obtained for it, and the right class of British officer must be attracted to it. If the Army feels uncertain as to its position and prospects it will not attain the efficiency it ought to attain, and India will not obtain from her Army the first-class service she expects, and has hitherto received, both in protecting the frontier and quelling internal disturbances.

It has been impossible in a short article to do more than sketch a few—perhaps the most interesting and important—of the varied problems which await solution in India to-day. But the few which have been described will have served their purpose if they have shown that the task of directing the affairs of India is at present peculiarly hard, and how difficult and various are the problems which confront the Administration.

## JAPAN AND SIBERIA

BY R SHIMATANI

(London Correspondent of the *Asahi*)

THE last Japanese troops left Vladivostock on October 25, so that the much-criticized and wrongly-handled policy of the Japanese Government on the Asiatic continent has ended in complete failure. But we Japanese have every reason to congratulate ourselves that it is finished, even though it cost more than £100,000,000, which had to be disbursed by the Japanese Treasury. Perhaps few British readers realize the fact that the policy of sending Japanese troops to Siberia was only adopted at the express wish of the Allied Governments. The position was that the Czechs, former subjects of the unfortunate Austro-Hungarian Empire, had been taken prisoners by the Russians and were anxious to fight on the French battlefield. This was in accordance with the policy of the Allies, who were encouraging the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and intended to organize a new Czecho-Slovak state.

During 1917 the Japanese Government were pressed to send troops to Siberia to help the Czechs, who were struggling hard to find their way out of Siberia via Vladivostock, where the Allied transports were waiting to bring them to Europe. However, the Japanese Government obstinately (from the Allies' point of view) declined the proposal, and were not ready to undergo further sacrifices for the Allies.

It must be realized that the Czechs were an entirely foreign people to the Japanese, and their name had been totally unknown to them until it was noticed during the Great War. Naturally this new policy of an expedition to Siberia could hardly be said to attract the enthusiasm and

sympathy of the Japanese people. Furthermore, it meant sacrifice of blood and treasure, which most Japanese thought unwise and unnecessary.

But there was one statesman in Japan who thought differently from his colleagues. He thought that, even from the point of view of Japan, it would be wise to help the Allies more and to secure written pledges from them to support the Japanese policy at the Peace Conference. Viscount Motono, when he took charge of the Foreign Office in the Terauchi Cabinet, found to his astonishment that no such precaution was taken to pledge the Allies to give their support to Japanese policy. He soon started the necessary diplomatic procedure to secure it before the spring of 1917 and with entire success. It was only on account of his thoroughly cautious action that the Japanese delegates achieved their difficult task at the Paris Conference two years later. Britain, France, and Italy were pledged to support Japanese demands regarding Shantung in spite of President Wilson's strong opposition, and it will be remembered that the Republican party, during the debate on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, used the Shantung clause as one of the weapons to secure its defeat.

Viscount Motono declared in Parliament that the Allies must be helped, and succeeded in persuading Count Terauchi to send twelve finest destroyers and two battle-ships to the Mediterranean Sea to escort Allied troop transports between Marseilles, Egypt, and Palestine, and protect them against the attacks of German submarines.

He was also in favour of the Siberian plan, but he found opposition to this policy among his own colleagues was too great, and this led to his resignation. He soon died a disappointed man.

I think that, from the nationalist point of view, Viscount Motono's policy was mistaken and Count Terauchi's right. But when the American Government decided to send troops to Siberia and asked Japan to co-operate with them in the summer of 1918, the situation changed entirely.



Count Terauchi and his Government could no more persist in an indifferent attitude, because they thought that to allow American troops to land in Siberia alone would mean to give them a free hand in Siberia in the future, and this might become, some day, a great danger to the welfare and safety of the Island Empire

It may be noticed that the insular Japanese are very suspicious of foreigners. They naturally think that Americans are very ambitious, and that though they profess they are not "land-hunters," their history is full of such adventures

However, to proceed, it was under these circumstances that the Japanese troops were sent to Eastern Siberia, west of the Baikal Lake, and no wonder that the co-operation between the Japanese and Americans proved unsatisfactory. General Gleaves, who was Commander-in-Chief of American troops, landed at Vladivostock without visiting the Japanese capital and making any effort to attain harmonious collaboration

Professor Miliukof asserts, in his "Russia, To-day and To-morrow," that Japan had a desire to invade Siberia as early as December, 1917, when she addressed a Note to the Allied Nations and to the United States, offering to send troops into Siberia, to protect the Allied interests from Germany (p 319, chap x). I should like to know how this author could prove his theory about Japan's ambition from documents

Professor Miliukoff seems to complain that the Japanese troops of the Expeditionary Force were increased at one time to the number of 70,000, instead of 7,000, men, which was the figure that the United States at first suggested. But, from the Japanese point of view, it may be easily explained. From the beginning, concerted action among the Allied troops was not an easy thing to attain, as was the case on the Western front. It seemed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army, whose task was to clear the way for the Czechs and to free the country from chaotic conditions,

that the only troops who had enough fighting spirit, and upon whom he could rely, were the Japanese. And as a strategist and tactician he naturally thought that overwhelming numbers could accomplish the objects of the expedition in the shortest time and in the easiest way. To use 7,000 troops for three years is not so good from the military point of view as to use 70,000 within three months. Then the war against Germany came to an end, but now the Bolsheviks were considered the principal enemy of the Allies, whose object it was to destroy them. It seems now that if the Bolsheviks had been attacked from the four fronts—Petrograd, Archangel, Ural, and the Don basin—simultaneously, under a well-thought-out plan and by competent troops, Moscow might have come under the occupation of Allied and "White" Russian troops. Japan was only asked by the Allies, especially the British, to give their aid to this common aim. Czechs marched to the Ural front instead of the Vladivostock, and the task of guarding the lines of communication, 1,500 miles long, between the east of the Baikal Lake and Vladivostock, the central base of the Ural front, fell to the Japanese Army, thus necessitating their stay. This may be considered as the second phase of the expedition of Japanese troops in East Siberia, being far removed from the original plan suggested by the American Government.

After the Americans and Czechs left Siberia, the Japanese still stayed for nearly two years. Thus came about the third phase of the occupation, during which the Japanese people had to meet with severe criticisms from nearly the whole world.

I offer no apologies for the various activities of the so-called "militarist party" in Japan. I was one of those who had seen the absence of wisdom in the Siberian policy. As I explained at the beginning of this article, the expedition never secured popular support. Before the Russo-Japanese War the foreign policies of Japan, the aims of which were mainly defensive, commanded the support of

the whole nation. The people at home devoted the whole of their time and means to encourage their dearest ones who went abroad for Emperor and country by sending letters and presents. They knew perfectly well that the soldiers were fighting for them and their own homes. Soldiers were ready to die for the cause. But during this expedition no soldier was able to understand why and for who's sake he was sent to fight. Officers went there willingly because fighting is their profession, and to be in the field always means earlier promotion than staying at home. Soldiers were there because they were told to obey the orders of the Emperor. I suppose that no soldier, whether conscript or voluntary, in such democratic countries as the British Empire or France, would have been willing to be despatched for so long a time as we have seen among the soldiers in Japan.

Therefore the whole blame rests with the politicians and those who controlled the army. They knew that the Japanese Government pledged themselves not to interfere in internal affairs in the districts of Siberia where their troops were in occupation, and to withdraw all their forces from Siberia as soon as the common object—to help the Czechs—was attained. This pledge had to be observed. Under such conditions permanent occupation was impossible, and early withdrawal was the wisest policy for Japan. The Civil Government had some reason at one time during the occupation to keep the troops on the lines of the Siberian railway to protect them from the attacks of the Bolsheviks, and to counter their influence and intrigue in Kova and Japan proper. But the military circles were not able to discern that the Imperialistic policy which had been practised twenty years ago was out of date and unpopular in the democratic and socialistic times in which we now live. I do not say that those military circles had the definite plan of annexing Eastern Siberia as some Russians suspect. However, they behaved in such a way as to make the outside world believe that they were aiming at

it. They used every means to prolong the occupation, which the Japanese people never desired

In so doing they made the army itself unpopular. I do not know if they obtained support from any newspapers at home. In one sense Japan is more democratic than England, because there is no such class distinction as I can see in this country. Officers and soldiers are chosen amongst the whole nation. There is no favour in respect of family or class, so that the feeling of the whole people, which is represented by the Press, is easily reflected in the army from the supreme command down to the private

One General, whom I met at Geneva last September, told me how distressed and disgusted he felt at reading the articles appearing nearly every day in the Press at home which attacked the "gun batsu," military clanship, or cliques. Even he confessed to me that his family could not stand up against the attacks of the Press against the army, and that his daughters would never agree to marry the young officers, because the army was unpopular, and the life of an officer had not much prospect in future. After all, the influence of the Japanese Press is not a negligible factor

I do not think, however, that the withdrawal of the troops from Siberia was finally decided upon by the Japanese Government only under the pressure of severe criticism from outside. I rather believe that so long as the Government had the wholehearted support of the people the troops were kept there

Belief in the democratic doctrines of the West has received a blow in Japan ever since the proposal by the Japanese delegates of racial equality was declined at the Paris Conference. The Japanese think that Western nations are not justified in denying them the right of immigration as citizens if they believe in democratic principles. Japan is densely populated. Food is scarce and natural resources are restricted. Unless some outlet for the population is found, the people at home must ultimately starve.

The "open door" in China and Siberia, advocated by Americans, is to be morally recognized and supported only when the other side of the Pacific Ocean is opened also. Of course, as a practical policy, Japan would not insist on this argument against the will and desire of the United States and the British Dominions, where the population is so scarce when compared with her own. She sees perfectly well that her power to convince, or to enforce it, is limited. But as to Siberia, Japan's policy had gone a little ahead. She wants Siberia opened to her commerce and industries as well as for the immigration of Japanese and Koreans. That is why the troops had been so long detained while her diplomats were negotiating with Bolsheviks, firstly at Dairen, and then at Tschau-Tschun, to attain these objects. They asked for the right of Japanese subjects to stay without hindrance and engage in business, and exploit natural resources—for instance, mining, fishery, forestry—which the Bolsheviks denied them. The whole policy of Japan failed in Bolshevik Russia, as the British policy failed there, partly because her diplomats were in a difficult position and the people, whose sons had been so long exposed in frozen winter in Siberia, had become impatient, and also because the Bolsheviks were totally irreconcilable. But the greatest cause of the withdrawal of troops from Siberia is probably that the expenditure on the expeditionary force had become so enormous that further increase was not only unwise, but impossible, especially when the great depression struck the market, and revenue was decreasing. Moreover, Japan, after all, had to fulfil her own pledge to withdraw the troops sooner or later (and it was better to do it sooner when there was no prospect of success).

The Japanese troops have left Siberia, but the vital questions remain. Should the whole territory, east of Baikal Lake, be left entirely in the care of Bolsheviks for an indefinite time? Should not her neighbours be allowed to give help which might improve the land for the general welfare? We Japanese deeply believe that misery, poverty,

famine, disorder, and brigandage will be rampant, and no prosperity will reign in Siberia so long as Bolshevik rule continues. Already "White" Russians have had to flee from their homes, which remained "White" until October, and became untenable as soon as the Japanese troops left Vladivostock and its suburbs. They have now been forced to seek shelter in Korea, Manchuria, and in parts of China and Japan. They went away to flee from torture and massacre by the "Red" Bolsheviks, only to find privation and famine in those foreign lands. They are indeed worthy of pity. The other day Lenin was jubilant when he told the correspondent of the *Observer* about Japan's withdrawal from Siberia, and it seemed all Russians shared his jubilation. But we Japanese will never cease from asking Russia to open Siberia for our people, our commerce, and industries. For the present we will only watch what the Russians can do to make Siberia prosperous and flourishing.

## EXHIBITION SECTION

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### INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION

BY DIWAN BAHADUR T VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

(Commissioner for India for the British Empire Exhibition)

As many of the readers of this journal are probably aware, an Exhibition of the natural resources of the various countries within the British Empire, and of the activities, industrial and social, of their peoples, is to be held in Wembley Park in 1924. In the words of the organizers, the primary objects of the British Empire Exhibition are "to create an atmosphere favourable to more rapid and complete trade development, to show the wealth of our Imperial assets, the extent to which they may be more fully utilized, and to foster the spirit of unity which animated our peoples during the war. An adequate representation of the resources of the Empire and of the activities of its peoples will portray practically every branch of human industry. Such an exhibit cannot fail to attract the attendance of visitors from every part of the globe, and will present an unrivalled opportunity for bringing the Empire's products before a world audience."

The Exhibition is thus designed not only to stimulate the trade and industries of the component parts of the Empire, but what is perhaps even more important, to promote the mutual understanding and goodwill of their peoples.

This was eloquently put by Sir Robert Horne, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the following words:

"We want the people of the Empire to know each other more intimately—to understand each other's ideas, to appreciate how we all in our respective spheres live, what our objects are, what is our mental make-up, and to keep

constantly in touch with each other so that we shall never fail to understand each other, and shall never by any chance, if it can be avoided, come to controversies which are difficult of settlement."

The project was officially launched with the blessing of the Empire's greatest Ambassador, the Prince of Wales. Major Belcher, the Assistant General Manager of the Exhibition, has met with enthusiastic support wherever he has gone on its behalf—South Africa, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand—which have all voted funds for the expenses of participation. Even little Fiji has resolved to have a court in the Exhibition, and has allotted the liberal sum of £15,000 to meet the cost. Most of the Crown colonies have taken up the proposal with enthusiasm, and there is every reason to believe that Canada will not be outdone by Australia.

Readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* will doubtless want to know what part India is taking in the Exhibition. In view of the great and honourable part which India's princes and peoples and India's armies played in the war, and the change in India's political status as a member of the Empire and of the family of nations which has followed the war, they will naturally expect that she will take no inconsiderable share in this Imperial project, and that her part in the victories of peace will be no less considerable than her part in the victories of war. And they will not be disappointed. India has not waited for Major Belcher's Empire Mission to declare her wishes. The Indian Legislative Assembly on March 25, 1922, resolved that India should participate on a worthy and adequate scale in the Exhibition, and requested the Government of India to adopt measures to give effect to this decision. And the Indian Government, in taking steps in pursuance of this resolution, have declared it to be their earnest wish that India's participation should be on such a scale that it will not only tend to the development of her trade, but also enable her to display her great resources and to demonstrate her right to take a place



among the nations of great industrial importance, and last, but not least, to prove on this unique occasion India's high position in the Empire

The last great Exhibition in which India took part was the Franco-British Exhibition, held in the White City in 1908. Since then enormous changes have taken place in India. In 1908 India had Legislative Councils, but these were more in the nature of advisory and deliberative bodies than bodies invested with controlling power over the administration. The Governments in India were responsible to the Secretary of State, but not to any authority in India, and India had no place in the Councils of the Empire. All this has now changed. The Legislative Councils to a very large extent—and their sphere is daily extending—control the policy of the Government. The Government itself is now in many matters responsible to the Legislature. Fiscal autonomy has been granted to the Government of India. And India has now a recognized place in the councils of the Empire—witness the Imperial War Cabinets, the League of Nations, and the Washington Disarmament Conference. From a dependency India has grown to the status of a partner in the Empire.

Internal progress has kept pace with constitutional development. Several Provinces have now established a system of compulsory primary education, and the growing demand for higher education has been met by the creation of new universities. The means of communication have expanded, and trade and industries are growing rapidly. It is doubtful if the world outside India fully realizes the enormous changes that are taking place in India. The India of the palm-trees, of the immemorial villages, of the rice-field and the bullock-cart is familiar enough to the world, but the India of the ballot-box, of elected Parliaments, of mills and factories, is hard to comprehend. It will be one of the objects of the Indian Section of the British Empire Exhibition to bring home not only to people in England but to visitors from all parts of the

world, more especially the rest of the Empire, the great changes that have happened in India. By the adoption of the methods which make the exhibitions of to-day so much more attractive than those of fifty or even fifteen years ago, it is hoped to show to visitors to the Indian buildings at Wembley Park the New India as well as such of the old as survives. At the 1908 Exhibition as well as its predecessors, the Paris Exhibition of 1900, and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, the large bulk of Indian exhibits belonged to the Art and Handicrafts Section. The products of Indian handicrafts are often the results of skill and delicacy of handling inherited through ages, and are an attractive feature of any Indian exhibition, but their undue preponderance in an exhibition is apt to produce an erroneous impression that India has little to show in the way of large industries or industries of world-wide importance. An exhibition of this character is also likely to obscure the great progress that has been made in India in many departments of human activity. At the British Empire Exhibition, therefore, while this class of exhibit will receive due attention, it will not be allowed a monopoly, and the aim will be to put before the visitors other forms of Indian activity. The cotton mills of Bombay, the woollen mills of Cawnpore, the jute factories of Bengal, the iron and steel industry and the coal and other mining industries of Bihar, rice and wheat, the coffee of Madras, the tea of Assam, the coco-nut of the West Coast, the great irrigation colonies of the Punjab where the hand of the irrigation engineer has made the desert blossom as the rose, the railway and steamship services, the large range of Indian timbers, the salt of Madras and the Punjab, the gold mines of Mysore, the far-flung activities of the Educational Department, the progress in medical, sanitary, agricultural, and scientific research, will all be illustrated in the Exhibition. The visitor to the Indian section will not be allowed to go away with the impression that Benares brassware, Chennapatna toys, Surat lace, Moradabad art work, and

Madras palampores represent the last word in Indian progress

At the last three Exhibitions I have mentioned, the Indian section was organized from London by the India Office. In view of the advance in political status of both India and its Provinces, it seems in accordance with the fitness of things that on the present occasion the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should in co-operation with the people of India take the initiative and organize the Exhibition. The lead has now been given by the Indian Legislative Assembly, and the Government in giving effect to its wishes have fully accepted the view that the Exhibition should be organized by India itself.

A question has arisen as to how the division should be made between the Central Government in India and the various local governments in the matter of showing exhibits. The problem was how to combine local initiative and work with co-ordinated effort. The solution arrived at is that exhibits relating to large industries and products of universal commercial importance, and the more important activities of Government which bear upon the development of the Indian nation as a whole, should be shown in a central court which will be occupied by the all-India portion of the Exhibition. Special arts and crafts, cottage industries, manners and customs, modes of living, special institutions and objects of interest from the historical and other points of view will be shown in separate provincial courts. These courts will be self-contained and will be set apart for each Province, though, of course, they would form a part of the whole Indian Exhibition. Such a division would, while facilitating enquiries of business men and serious students of Indian questions and things, be equally helpful to the general sightseer. The Indian States will also have separate courts wherever they desire to have them. A Commissioner for the Exhibition has been appointed in India to advise intending participants, to organize the central court, and to co-ordinate provincial effort.

The work relating to the Indian Section of the Exhibition in England is being attended to by the High Commissioner for India, with the assistance of the Indian Trade Commissioner and an advisory committee. The work is well forward. A fine site in Wembley Park has been selected, and architects and building and decorative contractors have been appointed. Designs of the Indian building are now ready, and when executed the building should be a handsome one of essentially Indian character which should appeal to persons familiar with Indian architecture. It may be added that the Advisory Committee have decided that as far as possible only Indian timbers should be used in its construction.

LONDON,

*September 21, 1922*

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### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Far East* "Beyond Shanghai," by Harold Speakman (Laurie), "My Chinese Marriage," by M. T. F. (Lane), "La Chine," Vol. II (Pekin)

*India* "Hindu Gods and Heroes," by L. D. Barnett (Murray), "The Future of Exchange and Indian Currency," by H. S. Jevons (Milford), "The Political System of British India," by E. A. Horne (Oxford Press), "The House Divided: England, India, and Islam," by Khwaya Kamal-ud-din (*Islamic Review*)

*Near East* "The Balkan Peninsula and the Near East," by F. Schevill (Bell), "A New Translation of Omar Khayyám," by Jamshedji E. Saklatwalla (Luzac)

*French Books* "Angora et Berlin," by Omer Kiazim (Édition Universelle, Paris), "La Cité de David," by Raymond Weill (Geuthner, Paris), "Un poète arabe d'Andalousie, Ibn Zaidoun," by Aug. Cour (Geuthner), "L'École Française d'Extrême Orient" (Hanoi), "Visions Solaires," by Constantin Balmont (Bossard, Paris), "Le Miracle Française en Asie," by C. Regismanset (Crès, Paris), "Histoire de l'Asie" (three vols.), by René Grousset (Crès, Paris)

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### TRADE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND GREAT BRITAIN

BY CHAO-HSIN-CHIU

(Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in London)

It may be thought not very felicitous that I choose this moment for writing on Trade Co-operation between China and Great Britain, in view of the fact that the year 1921 was quite one of the worst experienced in the commercial history of my country. Still, like most other countries which do not seem to have been much better off in this particular period, we probably touched the bedrock of our depression, and slow but steady recovery should now be possible, if all take advantage of the opportunity.

Great Britain has created an enormous trade field in China. In years gone by the opportunities were so numerous, the competition so insignificant, and the demand so great, that British traders held their own, and built up a vast industry almost without any trouble. Things are completely changing now. No doubt the loss of part of Great Britain's trade with China in the last few years was directly due to the war. On this the attention of everyone in this country had to be concentrated, and although there was a certain amount of export to China, just enough indeed to keep the British market in existence, the demand for imported manufactures was mainly filled by others. Since 1918 Great Britain has recovered something of the lost ground, but she has still far to go when it is recollected that in 1913 she imported 11,705,426 pieces of cotton goods, but only 3,489,093 pieces in 1921. Unfortunately the latter total was a heavy reduction on the imports even of the previous year.

It is, therefore, perhaps fortunate that the British manufacturers and merchants are beginning to realize the need

for exceptional effort if they are to hold their own and expand. Fortunately China is a country which permits of great trade expansion, and so there need be no question, for the present, of cut-throat competition to exploit an already crowded market. Few people realize that China can supply, and does supply, an unlimited quantity of raw materials needed in Great Britain in exchange for manufactured products. In 1921 the value of Chinese produce exported abroad was £118,841,914, and would have been a great deal higher but for the fall in the rate of exchange. These exports embraced scores of articles, such as bean cake, beans, wheat, china-ware, meat, coal, raw cotton, eggs (in every form), ground nuts, paper, silk, hides, tea, tobacco and wool. I merely quote a very few out of a very long list, and I do so to show that there is plenty of return trade for goods sent out to China.

There are, however, a few considerations I should like to urge in respect of trade between the two countries. China's economic door is always kept wide open. Its market may be competitive, but it is international. The development of trade with China will undoubtedly, to a great extent, help to solve the British unemployment problem, because this is an industrial country, and China, with a very few exceptions, only buys manufactured goods. To promote trade it is, of course, most essential to keep on good terms with China. Undoubtedly the United States have always recognized this, and their international policy as regards China has invariably been sympathetic. Great Britain, therefore, should play an increasingly active part in the Far East, and this should be done on unselfish lines. There is thus no doubt that the Americans have greatly benefited in every way in China by their return of the Boxer indemnity, and it may well be that Great Britain, sooner or later, will decide to follow this generous example. It would not surprise me, since the reputation of this country for chivalrous and sympathetic policy, when the circumstances dictate it, is well known.

Assistance on these lines would undoubtedly be appreciated in China, where the difficulties of finance in the present period of transition are admittedly considerable. A spontaneous act of generosity would undoubtedly promote closer relationship and a better understanding between the two peoples, not merely because of the abandonment of the money claimed, but because in China there is, undoubtedly, much popular resentment at these heavy indemnity payments long after, so it is thought, all legitimate claims have been liquidated. It would, moreover, I think, improve trading relations if the same rate of duty were to be charged on China tea as is now imposed on Indian tea, though to create any decided improvement in this branch of industry I am afraid some essential reduction of the duty as a whole would be required. After all, the greater the market here for Chinese output, the greater the Chinese purchasing power for British goods.

To promote international trade far better knowledge of each other's produce is needed. Many Chinese products have never been introduced into the English market, and it would repay English merchants to send more representatives to China to make their own investigations and open up quite new lines of business. Conversely, many English goods have scarcely yet appeared in the Chinese market. Reciprocal action in both these directions would benefit mutual trade. It is also, to my mind, essential that more representatives of the manufacturers should go to China to learn the customs and habits, the usages and prejudices, the fashions of the day and what has become out of date. It is, of course, well known that many goods have to be specially adapted, both as regards manufacture and marking, to suit Chinese custom, but the time has arrived when a good deal more could be done in this direction. Traders are often a little too addicted to working on stereotyped lines without considering whether these could not be usefully modified or extended. English goods have always borne a good name in China, and so long as the standard

of production remains as high as it is, their popularity will remain unabated, though I am far from denying that cheapness is an important factor nowadays, and in this respect competition is exceedingly keen

It would also benefit China, as well as Great Britain, if British finance and British engineering ability would interest themselves directly in the improvement of the means of transportation in China, since without this trade can never expand as it should do. It is, indeed, not too much to say that the pioneers of transportation work in China have always, directly or indirectly, benefited other branches of their own home trade. I therefore would urge that British capital should be invested in Chinese railway development, and other industries of a productive character. I do not think that in many cases—most cases—there will be any reluctance on the part of the Chinese to co-operate financially.

Remember that China has always fulfilled her obligations, and it is not too much to assert that she will never incur bad debts. I am quite aware that sometimes there have been deferred payments, due solely to local conditions of a transitional and temporary nature such as one now finds in China. Deferred payments in the case of China never mean default for an indefinite period. What China wants is financial aid, but it must never be forgotten that the country is solvent, that it is a rich country, that it has relatively light taxation and great natural resources. Hence it will never allow interference by foreign creditors, and I think British fairness will admit the justice of this attitude. In short, in dealing with China there must be a "square deal." China will appreciate and reciprocate it. Both countries need trade co-operation, since their activities are complementary, not competitive. I am glad, therefore, to think that there is an increasing disposition, both here and in the Far East, to realize our commercial interdependence.

China no doubt always appears to the Westerner to face



innumerable difficulties, but in the main they can be concentrated on finance. Perhaps there is an impression that the Chinese Government is wasteful and that it is piling up a large debt without much reference to the capacity of the people to bear it. The amount of debt arising out of unsecured loans per head of the population in China is one dollar, or about two shillings. In this country the debt is, I believe, between two and three hundred pounds. For this reason China is endeavouring, according to the Washington Agreement, to secure a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. increase in the Customs, which would supply the Central Government, not merely with money to carry on administration, but to take in hand, which is essential, a scheme of financing out productive activities on a large scale. It is true that to make the present 5 per cent. Customs Duty effective instead of *ad valorem* is of great value, but it does not go quite far enough. A steady increase of revenue would enable the Chinese Government to undertake measures of economic development which are far too much delayed at the present time. This is noticeable, of course, in connection with the railways. We may need money, but also time in which to use it properly.

No storm-clouds present themselves so far as China is concerned in her foreign relations. An amicable arrangement has just been reached between Japan and China with regard to Shantung, Great Britain has decided, in accordance with the Washington Conference, to evacuate Weihai-Wei, the foreign post-offices in China will all be closed by the end of December—Great Britain closed hers on November 30, thus giving another proof of goodwill to China.

Chinese trade is steadily improving with all foreign countries, including Great Britain, though the latter has to make up a good deal of leeway which was necessarily lost in the war. I have always preached that it would help trade if more Chinese students could be encouraged to come to this country, and I note with pleasure that therein I have the goodwill and assistance of both Sir John Jordan and Sir Ronald Macleay, the new British Minister to China.

It is not as if these students would come here merely to study law and philosophy, we want them to study practical matters, we should like them to study such problems as railway construction and management, engineering, mechanics, mining and the like. To do this great goodwill is needed from the firms concerned, but I am quite sure that the value of Far Eastern trade ought to be enough to induce them to remember that if they train students, these young men will go home and undoubtedly influence business to pass through the channels with which they are personally familiar.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

*To the Editor of THE ASIATIC REVIEW*

SIR,—With reference to Lord Lamington's letter to you on the above subject, published in your last issue, I may note that in *The Times* of November 13, 1922, there appeared a very thoughtful article on "India as a Career". In a letter published in the same paper on the 21st, I ventured to say how thoroughly I agreed with the writer of the article, and how I wished I had the chance of beginning my career over again, even under changed conditions. But, as Lord Lamington very properly implies, facts must be faced, and, as his lordship says "There lie before the Indian Civil Service difficulties and many forms of unpleasantness in the future." It is true those who take service now will have to work with, and often under, the sons of the soil, for the benefit of all, and they will have to battle bravely (but I trust good-humouredly) against the unreasoning hatred and baseless distrust of everything British, which have been so long inculcated by false patriots and unscrupulous agitators. The old Service may have had its faults and failings, as it certainly had its admitted and well-paid merits, but the new Service will be obviously wanted as pioneers to aid in preventing "the tyranny of all" (or of a self-chosen few) from becoming worse than the imaginary and remote tyranny of the much-abused bureaucrat, and also, as Lord Lamington puts it, to guide the destinies of the great Commonwealths "on the path of peace and good will." Before long, however, the Indian may not need the Briton at all, and there may be (as there is even now) a desire to get rid of him altogether. But the sensible Indian feels and knows (and the masses of the people faintly but firmly realize) that India still has need of unselfish British pioneers, "who seek neither wealth, gratitude, nor personal security," but simply desire to serve and save the land in "the biggest experiment in devolution ever attempted, and to weld East and West firmly together for the benefit of the whole world." But, as must be admitted, this kind cometh not save by long-suffering patience, kindly courtliness, and cordial recognition of the innate good qualities of the Indian peoples, whose whole-hearted confidence must be gained (or regained) by the employment and the services of the right type of man—I have, etc.,

JOHN POLLEN

November 29, 1922

## NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F R SCATCHERD

### I PRINCE HABIB LOTFALLAH

PRINCE HABIB LOTFALLAH, who has been staying in London on his way to Washington as the first Arab representative accredited to the United States, delivered recently a speech at a public dinner, and has given us the text, from which we print the following

"The Nashemite Kingdom is now in a delicate position. The Allied Powers have entered into certain engagements, and treaties have been drawn up which, unfortunately, have not been executed. At the present day it would appear that the support of public opinion is needed in order to bring about the ratification of provisions which have been agreed upon and signed. Perhaps we should not be in the position in which we are at present if the agreements between His Majesty King Hussein and the British had been published at the time.

"Our claims then are the same as they are at present, and are based upon treaties. There are two matters which seem to have escaped the attention of the Allies—the Red Sea and the Treaty of 1915. The fact is that since 1915 so many treaties have been signed that this one seems to be forgotten, though it is really the basis of the others. Can it be true that history moves so quickly that the events of 1915, which made victory possible in the Near East, have been forgotten? All that we ask now is that the Treaty of 1915, which was signed in good faith at a time when the world had not yet lapsed into chaos, should come up for consideration.

"In a recent speech Mr Lloyd George, when still Prime Minister, announced that France was going to renounce her claim to Cilicia, Italy to Anatolia, and Greece to Smyrna. At the same time we learn that the United States would not accept a mandate for Anatolia. We waited in vain for any mention of the Treaty which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor, Mr Asquith, for it was in the name of his Government that the Treaty was concluded with King Hussein.

"However, we hope that with the new Government in England a new era has also opened for us. In short, we hope that the engagements entered into in 1915 will be considered.

"I have often been asked what the attitude of the Arab Government is towards the present Conference which is dealing with matters in the Near East. My answer has always been the same—viz., that depends on the attitude which the Governments represented at the Conference take towards us.

"Another question I have been put is to define our attitude towards the Khilafat. The Khilafat Question is purely a religious question, and must be settled between Constantinople and Mecca.

"Now I should still like to say a few words about His Majesty King Hussein

"He is sixty-five years old, in excellent health, and his energy is indefatigable. He must be numbered amongst those who were the most constant friends of the Allies during the Great War. His sincerity and loyalty are boundless. Having signed a treaty in 1915, he entered the war on the side of the Allies, and hopes that they for their part will respect their engagements. He has four sons. Emir Aly is the heir apparent, Emir Abdullah governs Trans-Jordania, Emir Feisal is in Irak. The fourth son is Emir Zeid. They all respect him, as well as do Emir Ebin Elsaoud, and all the other Emirs of the peninsula.

"On the day, which I hope is not far distant, when the Allies entrust King Hussein with the organization of his realm and all the problems of local import, peace will soon be established.

"I consider that to be the only formula which can lead to a solid peace in the Near East."

## II THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

"Lausanne's Christmas-box to the world is the freedom of the Straits," says the *Daily Express* (December 21, 1922), which summarizes the Allied plan thus

An International Commission under the League of Nations, with a Turkish president to control the Straits

Free passage for the merchant ships of all nations

Warships up to 10,000 tons to have free passage in peace time

Neutral warships of the same size to have free passage in war time

Areas adjoining the Straits to be demilitarized. Constantinople garrison not to exceed 12,000

America remains outside, not accepting the view that an international control commission under the League of Nations is the best means of preserving the freedom of the Straits

The *Westminster Gazette*, commenting on the situation, points out that by agreeing to enter the League of Nations, Turkey has in effect chosen to come back to Europe as a European Power in friendly relations with other European Powers, rather than to remain an Oriental outpost of Soviet Russia, a view not essentially hostile to Russia. For although the Russian delegates have all along been hostile to the rest of the world, it is hoped "that Russia will soon see the wisdom of changing her policy, and the Allies the wisdom of making that change easy for her."

"The peace settlement, bad as it must be admitted to be in some respects, has at least neutralized one of the causes of previous wars, by setting free a number of nationalities. Their freedom, however, will not make for peace unless they will be content with it and begin to cultivate an international mind. The issue must be decided by the peoples themselves and imposed by them upon their leaders. 'International peace,' as Lord Grey said, 'can become secure only through the goodwill of all the peoples.' It is useless to do as the Greeks have done, to follow foolish statesmen blindly and enthusiastically, and then to turn and rend the statesmen when the inevitable catastrophe has been incurred" (*Westminster Gazette*, December 21, 1922)

From Greece little news has filtered through. Until the censorship is relaxed, no comment on internal affairs can be of value, but if it be true that the authorities are holding up humanitarian and educational activities as is implied by their rumoured action with regard to such centres of enlightenment as that presided over by Mr Platon Drakoules and his devoted helpers, then the prospect is dark indeed and pregnant with disasters for the near future.

### III THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Lord Robert Cecil has sent the following to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for publication

"The favourite charge against the League of Nations is that it is futile and impotent. That is the point on which the *Morning Post* combines with the worker, and Tchitcherin with Sir Frederick Banbury, and yet impartial observers of its actual proceedings are of a different opinion. The latest, and perhaps most striking, witness is Lord Chelmsford, for five years Viceroy of India, and before that Governor of Queensland and New South Wales. No mere dreamer, one would think, and this is what he says

" 'When some few weeks ago I accepted the invitation of the Government of India to come here as the first delegate for India, I accepted it because I was ready and willing to serve India in any capacity in which it might be thought I might be useful, but I am bound frankly to confess that I came here a profound sceptic as to the value and utility of the League of Nations. A fortnight's acquaintance, however, with the working of the Assembly and the Commissions has made me hope my scepticism was unwarranted.

" 'I found, in the first place, an atmosphere of general goodwill and desire to co-operate which it would be almost impossible to conceive of unless one was living actually in the middle of it, and I believe it is almost equally difficult to convey to those who are outside the League what that atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation is.

" 'I found, in the second place, the eminently practical handling of the subjects dealt with in the Assembly and in the Committees, a handling which gave the lie to the insinuations which are so often made outside, that the League of Nations lives and moves and has its being in an atmosphere of impractical idealism.

" 'I found, in the third place—at least, I hope I have found in the third place—a sincere determination on the part of the countries which are members of the League to accept the resolutions of the League and to carry them out effectively and sincerely. These, it seems to me, are the three conditions precedent to success in the work of the League.' "

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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### A HERO OF ASIA

BY STANLEY RICE

THE average reader brought up in the traditional view of the fierce marauders of Central Asia, who joined religious fanaticism to greed for plunder and the lust of destruction for its own sake, will hardly look to so unpromising a region for one of the world's heroes. Yet scientific history is gradually modifying our views. Tradition will prove in most cases to be broadly in the right, but just because the main outlines have been traced with a firm hand, there is a danger lest we lose sight of some of the secondary features of the picture, and, since the foreground is filled with a theme of blood and fire, concentrate our attention upon these without regard to the civic and artistic life which nevertheless was pursuing its quiet course. We have long ceased to regard Henry VIII as a kind of royal Bluebeard, whose hobby it was to marry women at short intervals and to dispose of them alternately by divorce and execution, history is teaching us to beware how we regard the story of the nations as one long succession of quarrels and wars, dreary or dramatic as the case may be, and bids us consider the evolution of states, the progress of the arts, and the prosperity of the peoples as the main drama in which an occasional battle or victory is introduced as an episode. Modern research has justified the claim of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad as one of the world's heroes, fit to rank with Cæsar, Napoleon, and Frederick, as a conqueror and a consummate general, not unworthy of at least an equal fame as administrator and man of letters, and on the whole superior to all of them in general amiability of character. In considering the character of Babur apart from his dazzling military career (except in so far as this had an influence upon, and shaped the destinies of, the man), we must first get rid of the notion that Babur had anything to do with India or that he was in the slightest degree the product of Indian culture or Indian civilization. It would hardly seem necessary to emphasize this point were it not that by far the most glorious part of his adventurous career was the year 1526, when the fifth enterprise against Hindustan was crowned by

the decisive victory of Panipat, and, as we may well imagine, the vision of a kingdom in India on the model of Kabul, or, perhaps, of Samarkand, the earliest and most cherished ambition of the conqueror, broadened out into the dream of imperial power, immediately to be realized and to be firmly based in a dynasty which lasted up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British broke the Mahratta power that had risen upon the ruins of the Moghul Empire. Babur's life was a short one, only forty-seven years in all, but before he was twenty he had crowded into his boyhood as much stirring adventure as would suffice most men for a lifetime. He had won and lost Samarkand, he had reached the zenith of his ambitions at that period and had fallen to the nadir of his fortunes. He was left naked and alone, practically in the hands of his enemies, from whom he escaped by a miracle, and by the age of twenty-one he had again risen to power in Afghanistan, there to remain for some twenty years. The Hindustani section of his life covered five years only, although in this dazzling period were gathered the ripe fruits from the tree of experience which had steadily grown throughout the long season of adversity.

Nor must we forget to examine what was happening in that part of the world which chose to consider itself the exponent of civilization. England, distracted by the Wars of the Roses, was passing through the period of reconstruction to the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. France and Spain were facing one another as rivals on the continent of Europe, with ambitions no less intense and armies more disciplined, perhaps, but hardly less ruthless, than those of these wild tribes of Central Asia. France under Charles VIII had at the date of Babur's accession but just taken that fatal step of interference in Italian affairs which for so many years was destined to tear Italy in pieces and banefully to affect the tranquility of Europe.

But Europe had at least begun to settle down into some semblance of national states. The oldest among them—England, France, and Spain—were by this time great consolidated kingdoms, and in the centre of the continent arose the powerful, if ill-knit, inheritance of the Hapsburgs. Germany and Italy, though disunited, were at least divided into well-marked princedoms and duchies. And above all the sun of the Renaissance had begun to rise. Great names in literature—Dante and Chaucer and Petrarca—belong to that splendid period of the revival of letters, and modern music was coming to the birth with Palestrina. Classical learning was revived and painting and sculpture were at the zenith of

their glory, for this was the age of Giotto, of Michael Angelo, of Donatello, of Titian, Tintoretto, and Giorgione

Very different was the environment of Babur at his birth. The little principality of Ferghana, with the town of Andijan, was only one, and that by no means the most important, of the various unstable and ill-defined territories that were the constant prey of ambitious, warlike, or predatory chieftains. Nor was Babur to be distinguished from them. His greatest ambition was to be lord of Samarkand, and for a brief space he had his desire at the early age of fourteen. But such was the instability of these rapid conquests that within a year he was in danger of losing Andijan, and setting out to relieve it lost both capitals, for Andijan fell before he arrived, and while his back was turned Samarkand had slipped from his grasp.

War, war, and always war! That was the food upon which Babur's boyhood was nourished. As yet there was no hint of the man of letters, of the administrator, of the zealous son of Islam: he had no time for the first and no opportunity for the second, and his enemies were themselves professors of the religion of the Prophet. The mainspring of his life was "ambition for rule and desire for conquest," buoyed up by an unconquerable joy in the life of a man and an unquenchable belief in his own destiny. His energy was amazing and his resolution worthy of all admiration. "I did not sit at gaze," he says, "when once or twice an affair had made no progress." Once only did his courage fail him. He had been driven out of Samarkand, he had been abandoned by all but a faithful few. One by one these dropped away in the flight from sheer physical exhaustion, and Babur was left alone. Betrayed by two treacherous guides, he gave himself up for lost, and was saying a last prayer in the garden when—— We do not know what happened, but some god appeared out of the machine and Babur lived again to rule in Kabul and to conquer Hindustan.

And behind and beyond this dream of empire, this indomitable energy, this gaiety of spirit and even the Wanderlust which, as Babur tells us, impelled him from his earliest youth to adventure a journey into China, lay that strange æsthetic nature, steeped half in the worship of Nature and half in the sensuous pleasures of Art. The awakening seems to have come upon him with a passion for a boy in the camp. Like Werther, he became distracted by this shameful desire, and used to wander "bareheaded, barefooted through street and lane, orchard and vineyard." It was about this time that he began to write odd couplets of verse, trying his strength, as it were, in an art in which he afterwards excelled, for his life



was strangely compounded of poetry and battles, of stirring adventure and quiet odes, of strict orthodoxy and strenuous wine-bibbing. Fresh, as it were, from the execution of a malefactor and, perhaps, the massacre of prisoners, he would sit down to compose an ode in the best poetic idiom, for he prided himself, not without justification, upon the purity of his language, or from the reek of a battlefield or the rapture of a conquered town he would turn to contemplate the serene beauties of Nature and to comment upon the special qualities of the melons and grapes.

Was Babur a type or only a portent? For if he were but a portent he would hardly be worth our study. A portent begins in nothing and ends in nothing. It is a thing apart that admits of no deduction and of no comparison, it is a thing to move our curiosity and little else, as we pay our sixpence to see the Bearded Woman and forget about her five minutes later. Call this exaggeration if you will, the man Babur may, after all, be worth our study for his own sake, yet how much more worthy if the study of the type leads to a reconstruction of our views on Asiatic history. For the outstanding typical hero is he who with only the normal physical advantages does supremely well that which others can do moderately well. The hero is but the product of the age, he is the supreme expression of the normal in his own time, and it is because he is supreme in the normal that we recognize him as a hero, and not because he is abnormal. In that case, as was hinted above, he would merely be a freak. Shakespeare is the supreme expression of the literary normal in the Elizabethan age, and his genius naturally turned to the drama, the then predominant form of the literary art. We should be surprised if in an age of drama Shakespeare had written novels, we should be surprised if in an age of novels Scott had written dramas. Great men in any age seldom initiate a movement. Just as ladies' fashions change at the bidding of Paris, yet no one can say exactly how and when, so there is a movement afoot in the age which itself produces the great painter, the great writer, and even the great soldier and sailor, and he in his turn invests that movement with a special glory and a special impulse. Beethoven is the normal descendant of Palestrina through many steps, he is the supreme outcome of an evolutionary process. He could not have appeared as the immediate successor of Palestrina, and if he had he must have been regarded as the lone star in the firmament, guiding no wise men, quite unlike, and therefore in no way typical of, the other luminaries at that season. As well might you expect to see the Southern Cross at the North Cape.

Let us, then, consider Babur rather as the typical expression of his age than as the portentous phenomenon born out of our time. For Babur was, in fact, the true descendant and countryman of Timur, who had swept Asia with fire and sword only a century earlier and had left little behind him save the abomination of desolation and ghastly pyramids of heads. Yet the Court of Samarkand was very far removed from the barbarism of Attila and his Huns. Although the ruling passion was ambition and the lust of conquest (and Babur himself seems to have been fired by the hope of emulating the deeds of Timur), yet religion of the fierce fanatical kind so often to be found among the early Muslims of Central Asia was not altogether without influence, and the more thoughtful and less turbulent of the Turkmans found recreation in the gentler arts of poetry and music. We can almost conjure up the scene—the luxury of the Court contrasting with the Spartan bareness of the camp, the chief, his armour just put off, reclining at ease in the finest silk of Samarkand, while the Court poet, like a later David, sang his praises to the strains of music, and the great nobles sitting round, critical and fastidious, quick to notice a false word, quick to appreciate a noble phrase. And all upon the morrow ready to set out upon some new foray, for it might well be said of such that

“ They drank the red wine through the helmet barred ”

Trade flourished. There were regular quarters established for its different branches throughout Samarkand, and “ the best paper in the world is made there,” says Babur, meaning by “ the world ” the world of his comprehension, just as European writers are inclined to write of Europe as the world and to claim for her the monopoly of the arts and sciences, or at least to treat all others as non-existent. The town was well laid out and adorned with fine buildings. Architecture was well advanced, for there was a monastery with a striking dome, and the mosque was decorated with mosaics. Astronomy was represented by an observatory, and the gardens here and elsewhere are the continual delight of the royal biographer. While Babur ruled in Kabul he found time to plant sugar-cane and bananas in the intervals of his raids or expeditions into Hindustan.

But the vein of savagery that ran through the texture of Timur was still to be found in the warring tribes of Central Asia, and his descendant in the fifth generation was not free from it. Orthodox Muslim though he was, for he had no mercy on the infidels, massacring them by thousands and

raising the typical Timuri pillar of heads to mark his victory, he yet fell into the prevailing vice of drinking wine and drinking it to intoxication. Many a man did the same in those days, most, perhaps, for pure animal love of the liquor, and a few from the sensuous delight of surrounding nature. On the way to Hindustan Babur and his companions floated quietly down the Kabul river, drinking and making verses the while. Yet all the time his conscience pricked him, and at last he swore that in his fortieth year he would drink no more. That was a heroic resolution for one who had fallen under the wine-god's spell, and heroically was it kept all the more, since during the last year of indulgence he drank furiously.

And then came Panipat and afterwards Kanwa. Mussulman and Rajput of India were broken before the impetuous onset, the disciplined valour and the consummate tactics of the invaders from Afghanistan. If we would really understand the Moghul Empire of India we should study these Memoirs of Babur, for just as they are the reflection of the conquests of Timur, of the turbulence, of the culture, of the vices, and of the elegancies of that age, so also do they to some extent explain for us the leading features of the Moghul Empire. As years went on no doubt the Emperors took upon them the peculiar impress of India, the kingdom became consolidated, the power was stabilized, and from the marauding chieftain, conquering to-day and vanquished to-morrow, the Moghul became the paramount prince before whom even the rising fortune of Sivaji some two centuries or more later had to bend in defiant yet diplomatic submission—a submission that was half compulsorily and half contemptuously yielded. In Jehangir and Shah Jehan we can see that love of architecture which was so characteristic of Babur, and which was expressed in many a noble building of the cities of Central Asia. In Akbar, worthiest of all, yet not perhaps more worthy than Babur, the great founder of the dynasty, we discover that broadmindedness which, if intolerant in religion, was yet ever ready to spare a vanquished foe. And finally we reach Aurangzib, the dark fanatic, the Philip II of India, whose whole soul was so steeped in militant Islam that he could say to those who in despair were taking the symbolic corpse of music to the burial: "See that you bury it deep, that it may never again raise its head." Perhaps we misjudge even Aurangzib, so prone is history to paint in vivid colours, sombre or bright according to the subject. Yet we seem to see in Aurangzib all that was least lovable in the character of Babur—the insatiable ambition, the love of conquest that drove him restlessly from Andijan to Samarkand, from

Samarkand to Kabul, and from Kabul to Lahore and Delhi, and, finally, the fierce fanaticism that massacred the unfortunate people of Bajaur because they were unfaithful to Islam, and the dark ruthlessness that placidly sent a criminal to be flayed alive

But we need not dwell on the less pleasing aspect of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur. We should always remember that the age of the conquest of Hindustan was also the age of the thumbscrew and the rack, the Blood Council of Alva and the fires of the Inquisition, and if we can point to the splendour of the Renaissance, let us not forget that in Samarkand, too, there were poets and musicians, unknown to us, perhaps unknown to later generations of their own people for want of an adequate chronicler

"Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,  
Multi sed omnes illacrimabiles,  
Urgentur ignotique longa,  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro"

Boot and saddle, adventures which took the sweet with the bitter, were as the breath of the nostrils of these men, whose civilization was yet enough to produce music and poetry and architecture, the outward and visible signs of an æsthetic temperament. Few of them, however, could equal Babur. Poet, carouser, conqueror, humane and ruthless by turns, he was the microcosm of the age in which he lived. And we are fortunate, if we have eyes to see and imagination to discern, in that we possess in his unique Memoirs a reflection of the civilization in which he was brought up as well as the picture of the man himself. We prize them chiefly because of their humanity. The tale is told with all the artlessness of a simple nature. The massacres, the extermination of whole peoples, are told with less perturbation of conscience than the story of those wine parties, where men (and possibly Babur himself) were degraded to the level of beasts. Nor were those qualities wanting which endure in every age. There is no single incident which wins our admiration more than that perilous adventure through the snow, when the party had lost their way and the devoted band resolved to sacrifice food and warmth and comfort for the sake of their chief. We do not know which to admire most—the devotion of the band or the magnanimity of the man who refused such devotion, and chose rather to share the hardships and the perils of the adventure with his followers. Can Europe supply a more shining example? Are we still to speak of Oriental barbarity and Oriental despotism in face of such things? Are we so dazzled by the magnificence of the Moghul Emperor that we fail to

recognize the man. Perhaps, after all, if we examine the history of the times impartially and with a just comparison of Europe, we shall discover that here, too, was a civilization special to the Asiatic peoples, yet not inferior to the boasted civilization of Europe. Babur has had many admirers, but admiration must not stop with the man. He is rather to be regarded as the typical expression of the age, greater than others because of his consummate gifts, but heroic mainly because of his supreme humanity.

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## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

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### INDIA

#### AN INDIAN EPHEMERIS,\* A.D. 700 TO A.D. 1799

The monumental work of Diwan Bahadur, L.D., Swamikannu Pillai, bearing the above title, in seven volumes (£6 10s), and extending over 3,000 foolscap pages, has been published by the Madras Government, and is obtainable in London from the High Commissioner for India. The first volume, which is a revised and enlarged edition of the author's "Indian Chronology" (1911), contains an exposition of the general principles of the Indian calendar system, while the remaining six volumes form a continuous day-to-day panchanga or almanac from A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799. (A separate work, which has been before the public since 1915, and which is now in course of re-publication, continues the Ephemeris from A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000.) The main purpose of the publication is, as stated in the Preface, to assist epigraphists and historians in verifying ancient Indian dates. The reason for commencing the Ephemeris in A.D. 700 is stated to be the paucity of verifiable dates earlier than the eighth century A.D. While the author does not deny the existence of such earlier dates, he explains that the verification of any new date in the earlier centuries A.D. or in any century B.C. can be carried out by means of his Eye-tables, of which there are four, corresponding to the four principal Siddhantas—the Surya Siddhanta, the Arya Siddhanta, the Brahma Siddhanta, and the Siddhanta Śiromani.

The thoroughly practical character of the work is shown by the numerous examples given from epigraphical, literary, and historical records. In Volume I, Part II, the author has furnished over 1,500 verifications of South Indian dates as worked out by him with the help of the Ephemeris. Of chief interest among these is the work done by the author for elucidating the dates of the medieval Pandyas (A.D. 1130 to A.D. 1380), a period of 250 years which Kielhorn's "South Indian Inscriptions" left in a state of com-

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\* Published in six volumes by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. The Ephemeris for A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000, which is a continuation of the present work, was published by the author for the Madras Government in 1915.

parative obscurity The reigns of the Cholas, the Vijayanagar kings, and other South Indian dynasties on which Kielhorn was chiefly engaged are further illustrated in the present work, which incidentally throws fresh light on such old and vexed questions as the date of the Cochin Jews' Grant, and the date of the Kottai Vellalars in the Tinnevely district

In a series of seven papers collected together in the appendix to Volume I the author has given certain concrete instances of recognized first rate importance, in which his method affords a complete means of chronological investigation when other methods were either admittedly incomplete or wanting in absolute proof The first of these papers vindicates the character of the *Vedanga Jotisha* as a perfect calendar system which regulated Indian time for nearly 200 years before the epoch of Varahamihira (A.D sixth century) The third paper in the appendix on the chronology of early Tamil literature bearing on the date of *Silappadhikaram* reproduces the first original contribution by the author to Indian literary research, to which is now added an even more important contribution, the investigation of the *Paripadal* horoscope to which the author has definitely assigned a date, June 17, A.D 634. The results of the author's inquiry into the astronomical details in the Mahabharata and those furnished by the lives of the Ālvars, according to the popular accounts, are mostly negative, but the investigation by an expert hand of even spurious dates like these and of the legendary and semi-mythical Rama's horoscope is not without its value to the student of chronology The author dwells a good deal on the value and utility of cycles of recurrence in chronological research, and the last paper in the appendix to Volume I, Part I, contains a summary of the results achieved by him in this direction How far these methods will be used by other persons engaged in historical research it is not possible to predict, but the author has spared no pains in expounding all parts of his method in the clearest terms and in plain language

It was fitting that a work patronized and supported from the first from the funds of the Madras Government should be devoted in the first place to illustrating the history of political, religious, and literary movements in Southern India from the earliest times which possess a definite though till now latent chronology, but the author has not lost sight of the main issues of Indian chronology as a whole Thus he has furnished, for the first time, we believe, an accurate chronological interpretation of the dates of Burmese inscriptions from the twelfth to the seventeenth century A.D, and he has devoted over 60 pages of the text and 200 pages of the tables, or a total of 260 pages in all out of 650, to an original attempt to establish in a permanent basis what may be called universal planetary and eclipse chronology His perpetual planetary almanac (Tables V a and V b and the related portions of Chapter V of the text) is a novel idea, the object of which is to enable anybody who is not an astronomer to fix in one minute or less of time the geocentric place of a planet on any date however ancient or remote How useful such an almanac is bound to be in chronological research will appear from the author's handling of Rama's horoscope, of the Chinese observation of a planetary conjunction between 2500 and 2400 B.C., of the star that led the Magi to Bethlehem, of the unique conjunction

of planets on September 14, A D 1186, one of the years when popular imagination stirred by astrology expected the end of the world to be imminent. For eclipses the author's method is simple but effective, although he admits the superior value of special works on eclipses like Oppolzer's "*Kanon der Finsternisse*."

It is a singular irony of authorship that a writer whose works have been eagerly bought by hundreds of practitioners and students of astrology all over India, and who is regarded in popular estimation as a living advertisement of astrology, should have himself not a good word to say for that science of glorious uncertainties. In assigning to Indian astrology a low place in the astrology of the world and in regarding it as a mere replica of Greek astrology he joins issue with many previous writers on the subject, although he is able to adduce as evidence on his side such authorities as the writer of the article on astrology in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" and Dr Fleet and Burgess. Still it is evident that he has paid much attention to Indian astrology, and the student of that pseudo-science will not find a better exposition of lagna and yogna, and the aspects, conjunctions, lordships, and exaltations of planets than is to be found in the pages of "*Indian Ephemeris*."

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INDIA AND HER PEOPLES By F Deaville Walker (Published by the  
*United Council for Missionary Education, London*) 1922 2s net

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

This book has been apparently written for missionary study circles. The writer says in his Preface that "the book seeks to give such information as will create in the mind of the teacher a picture of India and her people," within the limit of 144 pages. It is the outcome of the author's flying visit to India in 1920-21. In the opening chapter Mr Walker gives us a pen-picture of the Victoria Station in Bombay, with its great crowd, and other descriptions of his first impression, together with geographical features of the country. Then the writer proceeds to deal with the early history of India, but it is a mere compilation and exhibits no originality. In the chapter on "Modern India" his statement to the effect that "in 1599 Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, Sir John Mildenhall, stood before the throne of the Emperor Akbar the Great" is followed by an imaginary description of the magnificence of the Court and marble halls at Agra. It has been recorded by several historians that Queen Elizabeth dispatched Sir John Mildenhall on a mission to the Court of the Great Mogul, requesting him to grant privileges to the Company she was about to charter, but there is no evidence in support of this statement. It is certain that this envoy never reached India, and the probability seems to be that the Queen's intention to send him was never fulfilled.

Mr Walker's sympathetic accounts of the "Native States," specially of the Mysore State, is readable, and in his opinion people there enjoy complete "home-rule." He gives a lively sketch of a "North Indian City," from which he derived much of his information of Indian life by visiting some poor huts through the kindness of a lady medical missionary,

who proved herself such an admirable guide in showing Mr Walker all that is interesting behind the *Purdah*. The author's estimate of Hinduism and its prevailing influence is not always fair and true. He has consistently striven to show the dark side of Indian religious and social life, whereas he is not altogether impartial in speaking of the Indian students, he says that the "majority of these come to England, and at the present time there are something like fifteen hundred in this country. Unfortunately their coming to the West is not an unmixed good, for they see a great deal of the darker side of a civilization that is far from Christian, and often have little or no opportunity of seeing the quiet beauty of the true home life of Britain." Mr Walker has given Mr Gandhi a high place in the estimation of Indians—no one can deny it.

There is a bibliography at the end of the volume which is neither very suggestive nor complete. We do not see that there was any necessity for writing such a book in these days of economy, when there is no dearth of books on India, as much more valuable and original works than this have been written for the better understanding of India by men such as Dr Murdoch, Dr Farquhar, and Mr C F Andrews. Even their works do not adequately appeal to the soul of India. Perhaps the missionary readers would do well to get a catalogue of the Christian Literature Society for India, S P C K, or of the C M S publications, where they may find much that is useful. For a wider appreciation and real understanding of India we venture to recommend Mr Walker's readers to get the works of Sir William Jones, Professor Max Muller, Monier-Williams, and Sir Edwin Arnold among early writers, and the works of R C Dutt, Sir John Woodroffe, and Sister Nivedita among modern writers on India. We cannot ignore the fact that Mr Walker has written his book in admirable style for those for whom it is intended, and has shown a spirit which is so conspicuous in missionary literature. The book contains several illustrations, and the "get up" of the book is excellent considering its moderate price.

INDIA'S AWAKENING By Wilfred Wellock (*The Labour Publishing Co*, 6, Tavistock Square, W C) 1s 6d

(Reviewed by J B PENNINGTON, I C S RETD)

I have no idea what qualification Mr Wellock may have for "stating the facts" about the Home Rule Movement in India, but am quite prepared to admit that he has made a sincere attempt to lay them before the British public, and he has certainly compiled a very interesting and useful volume which the powers that be would be well to consider very carefully.

He sets out with the idea of proving that the purpose of the new revolution is "to free India, and perhaps the whole world, from the materialism which threatens East and West alike"—rather a large order.

It is now almost exactly a century since Sir Thomas Munro, who knew his India perhaps better than any European has ever known it, laid it down that one nation could not govern another for ever, and from his day



to this the best officials and others have been trying to devise some form of self-government for India, without much success. Just now the question is whether the "Montford" scheme is a reasonable step in the right direction, it need hardly be said that it does not satisfy the extremists and their followers.

Mr Wellock depends largely for his statistics on my friend the late Mr Hyndman and Mr William Digby (a very broken reed).

Part III, "The Spiritual Regeneration of India and the World," is too large a question to enter upon at the end of a short article like this, and is worth a separate notice.

WITH THE PRINCE IN THE EAST By Sir Herbert Russell, K B E  
(London *Methuen and Co*) 1922 10s net.

(Reviewed by MARY E R. MARTIN)

The author was Reuter's correspondent throughout the tour, and he presents to us in a series of charming vignettes the principal events of the Prince's tour in India, Burma, Japan, and other places. The series of photographs also serve to impress upon the minds of his readers the extreme picturesqueness of the various state receptions. Sir Herbert Russell has not minimized the political difficulties, he has given unstinted praise where praise is due, and the home reading public are afforded the opportunity of sharing with the Prince the wonders contained in India. There is not a dull line in the book, and we are taken at a rapid pace through the cities and places visited during the Royal tour. After Gibraltar, the next point of interest is Malta, proclaimed by the Prince to be a self-governing dominion.

The arrival at Bombay is described at length. Here, on account of political unrest, efforts had been made to persuade the Prince to abandon the tour, which he courageously refused to do, and he had his reward in the fact that amongst the crowd gathered to witness his arrival "not one note of disloyal utterance was raised." The author thinks that the riots at Bombay had no political significance, being mainly confined to the Byculla quarter of the city, a district of evil repute. Baroda was the first visit paid in Indian India, and here the magnificence of the reception was almost oppressive. Whatever other States might do, Baroda was not to be eclipsed! Udaipur came next, with its great welcome from city and villages. Owing to the indisposition of the aged Maharana, the ceremonial programme was abandoned. From Udaipur the Prince proceeded to Jodhpur, then Bikanir, always associated with the famous Camel Corps.

It is impossible in the course of a review to mention the distinctive features of each visit, for there must be, as the author says, "a certain sameness in all descriptions of Indian splendour, and yet, coupled with this, abundant variety of detail and setting." After Bikanir came in succession the visits to Bharatpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Nepal, with its big-game shooting forming a welcome break to official programmes, and Patna, where the Acting Governor received him in the unfortunate absence of Lord Sinha, the only Indian Governor, owing to his retirement.

caused by ill-health Calcutta was determined not to be outdone by Bombay, even in the matter of illuminations, and provided a show of dazzling splendour, due to the "wide variety and artistic concord of coloured lights" The principal events here were the attendances at the Calcutta races, the meeting with the syndics of the University at Government House for the conferring of an honorary degree upon the Prince, the special entertainment on the *maidan*, the opening of the Victoria Memorial Hall, the unveiling of the War Memorial, and not least the visit to the enclosure on the *maidan*, where the Prince saw the poor of the city being fed and supplied with blankets

The visit to Burma which comes next forms a great contrast to the strenuous time in India, the agitators fall into the background, and this must have removed a great mental strain from the Prince and his entourage From Burma the Prince returned to South India, to the atmosphere of *hartalism* At Madras he received a good reception on several occasions, though there was also a certain amount of rowdiness caused by an "infinitely small minority" At Bangalore, Indian India was entered once more, and at Mysore the Prince experienced again the usual course of Indian state hospitality and the spontaneous welcome of the entire population From Mysore he went to Hyderabad, where the Nizam had prepared a reception on an elaborate scale, worthy of the first Muhammadan ruler in India The Falak Numa Palace was placed at the Prince's disposal during his four days' stay at Hyderabad, a town which seems to have two special characteristics—namely, a mixed population and the formidable arms they carry! After Hyderabad came Nagpur, then Indore, where a very short official programme included the usual formal visits, a *darbar*, and a review at Mhow The five days' visit to Bhopal and to its famous ruler, the Begum, must have been of special interest Bhopal is the only State in India ruled by a woman, and she is a Muhammadan The Begum made the Prince's visit the occasion of proclaiming her intention of introducing representative government to her subjects The state ceremonial was limited in order to enable the Prince to enjoy the shooting at Kachnana After Bhopal came the visit to Gwalior, where the dazzling pageantry seems to have been eclipsed only by the Delhi *Darbar* of 1911 The Maharajah chose this time to have the King George Park, his gift to his people, opened by the Prince Another great event was the review of the Maharajah Scindia's troops, many of whom had rendered such fine service during the Great War At Agra the Taj Mahal was twice visited, and there were no official visits In Delhi a curious condition of affairs was experienced, as the Congress Committee had cancelled plans for the *hartal*, yet the *bazars* were closed and the proprietors did not scruple to flock out to see the sights Here the Prince was introduced to the members of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature At the Imperial *Darbar* fine speeches were delivered by several Indian Princes The Prince laid the foundation stone of the new Kitchener College, the future Indian Sandhurst, and he also received an address from Mr Gopal, Chairman of the Third All-India Depressed Classes' Conference In this address was mentioned the need of raising these classes if India was to be

made really fit for Swaraj. Other events included the presentation of colours to the 16th Rajputs, the great banquet given by the Ruling Princes, and the Prince's visit to the People's Fête on the *maidan*, where he received a great ovation. At Patiala, through the thoughtful consideration of the Maharajah, there were few official arrangements. At Lahore the reception given the Prince by the thousands of workers belonging to the North-Western Railway at Mughulpura was "amazing in its spontaneous enthusiasm." The other great welcome was at the Mela. From Lahore to Jammu, further westward to Peshawar, was the famous Khyber Pass and Rawal-Pindi. This finished the Indian tour.

The Prince stopped en route to Japan at Colombo, Kuala Lumpur, and Hong-Kong. Yokohama was reached on April 12. The joyousness of the welcome accorded to the Prince in Japan must have reminded him of his Burma visit, which formed such a pleasant interlude during the strenuous time in India. Politically speaking, it was most important that the right impression should be given, and the Japanese soon found out that they could take the Prince to their heart, in a manner very different from the "sacred exclusiveness" which from time immemorial they had always associated with Royalty. The round of festivities in Tokio occupied a whole week, and amongst the most important were the gala performance at the Imperial Theatre, the review of the Imperial Guards Division, and the great Peace Exhibition at Uyeno. After paying a formal visit to Yokohama, the Prince visited some of the most beautiful spots in Japan, and finally took his leave of the "Land of the Rising Sun" on May 9, to commence his journey homewards by way of the Philippines, Labuan, Penang, Ceylon, Cairo, Malta, and Gibraltar, arriving at Plymouth on the afternoon of June 20. The welcome received by the Prince in his own country formed a fitting conclusion to a tour involving ceaseless labour from the date when it began on October 26, 1921.

One wonders on closing this volume what will be the ultimate result of the Royal tour. Will it lead to lasting goodwill on either side? Will the loving personality of the Prince be the symbol of the best Britain has to offer? From accounts published in a prominent weekly, one almost hopes against hope. Both sides are to blame, and one fears lest the preponderance of blame may not rest on this side of the water. One dares not minimize the difficulties, yet it is true that "what we bring to India of love and insight she returns fourfold." Let us help our Greatest Ambassador in the way he would like best!

#### MISCELLANEOUS

THE HISTORY OF MAURITIUS, 1507-1914. By S. B. de Burgh Edwards, FRGS (*East and West, Ltd*) 6s net.

(Reviewed by SIR GRAHAM BOWER, K.C.M.G.)

To most of us the story of Mauritius begins and ends with the loves and sorrows of Paul and Virginia, but the island can show a history quite as romantic as that conceived by Bernardin de St. Pierre. For during the

four hundred years that have elapsed since Mauritius was claimed for the Crown of Portugal, it has seen Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English sovereignty. It has been the home of pirates, of shipwrecked seamen, of privateersmen, and has been governed by eminent statesmen, and mis-governed by men who were neither statesmen nor eminent. It is well that the story of this romantic island, *Stella clavisque maris Indici*, should be told, and it has been told, and well and simply told, in the little book that lies before us. The author deprecates criticism in a Foreword which acknowledges that his age is only nineteen. But the book is a careful compilation, which will serve as a useful *aide memoire* to older men.

It might be made something more, for the history of Mauritius is a by-product of European convulsions or European politics. The Londoner may watch the rise and fall of Portugal or of Holland, the tragedies of the volcanic eruption that we call the French Revolution, or the long struggle between England and Napoleon, but neither the ordinary student nor the University professor can be said to have learnt the lessons of history until he has made himself acquainted with the effects produced in other continents. A volcanic eruption in South America may produce a tidal wave that will devastate a Pacific island, and a revolution or a war in Europe may affect the lives and liberties of people in the Indian Ocean.

For instance, we learn that in May, 1793, a Jacobin club was formed in Mauritius, that in April, 1794, it arrested the Governor of Bourbon and sent him to prison, and that those Jacobins who called themselves "La Chaumière" erected a guillotine, but that on learning of the fall of Robespierre their terrorist "zeal" suffered a check, for the Colonial Assembly ordered the dissolution of "La Chaumière" and deported thirty of its most dangerous leaders.

But even in war and revolution there are intervals when our better nature comes to the surface. For instance, we read that on August 16 the body of the Count de Malartic, the beloved Governor of Mauritius under the *ancien régime* and the Republic, was brought to its provisional resting-place in the Champ de Mars. The Commander of the British blockading squadron asked under a flag of truce to be allowed to attend the funeral. The request was granted, and his ships came into harbour, hoisted their flags at half-mast, and fired minute-guns in honour of their dead enemy. Nor was this the only act of chivalry and courtesy that Mauritius witnessed during the war, and we may hope that in another edition Mr Edwards will find space for some of these incidents—as, for instance, the hospitality shown to the wife of the Commander of the blockading squadron by the Count de Malartic.

For the history of Mauritius is mainly a history of three great men—of Labourdonnais, of Malartic, and of Decaen. All of them men of resource, of the highest patriotism, and of sane and wise judgment.

That the island should eventually fall to the strongest sea Power was inevitable, but the efforts of the heroic servants of a dying régime are full of political instruction. Political organisms, whether kingdoms, republics, or empires, die from heart failure: the branches are often healthy when the tree has rotted at the root.

It is hypercritical to notice slight errors in such an admirable little book, but we suggest to Mr Edwards that in a future edition he should correct the following *lapsus plume*. On p 35 he says that a revolver was fired at Baco, the agent of the French Directory. But revolvers were not in use in the year 1796. On pp 40-41 he tells us the notables of the island asked the favour of acting as step-parents to General Decaen's child. Surely this should be "god-parents" or foster-parents! Then on p 103 he tells us that the Council of Government by a very small majority asked for the appointment of a Royal Commission. But if he looks at the votes and proceedings he will find that the request was voted unanimously.

These, however, are spots in the sun. The book is an admirable compilation, which could with advantage be enlarged so as to include some of the many romantic incidents and deeds of heroism that Mauritius has seen.

The little acts of courtesy between French and English during the Great War are creditable to both, and for that reason alone should be preserved, but they are still more valuable to the historian, for the acts of courtesy which were at one time incidental to all civilized warfare facilitated the re-establishment of friendly relations after the signature of the Treaty of Peace.

But these were days when propaganda had not been developed to the perfection it has since attained. How few of us were allowed to know that at the Dardanelles the Turkish batteries ceased fire to enable the British destroyers and torpedo-boats to rescue the crews from the sinking battle-ships. The picture of the two wounded captains, French and English, being nursed to convalescence in the same room and the friendship established between them would have been cut out by the propagandist, but such incidents and the mutual knowledge of such incidents helped to the re-establishment of friendly relations, and laid the foundation of a peace that has lasted 107 years. They survive in the cordial acquiescence in British rule by the French colonists of *l'ancien Île de France*.

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THE GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James Frazer (*Macmillan*). Abridged edition. 18s net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

"The Golden Bough" is not a book, it is an institution. To attempt to review it in detail would be almost as great an impertinence as to attempt to review the "Encyclopædia Britannica." For it has those three qualities so rarely contained in books—that it is at once a delight to read from cover to cover, a solace and a recreation for a spare half-hour, and a continual treasury as a work of reference. But the size of the original book—twelve volumes in all—as well as its price make it difficult for the average man to add it to his library, and everyone knows and has felt the difference between taking down a book from his shelf and borrowing from a public library. Sir James Frazer has done more than well in deciding to publish the work in an abridged edition, he has laid the public under an obligation, and our thanks are also due to Messrs Macmillan for the enterprise. It is true that even in its reduced form the book is not cheap, but no one can say it is not value for money.

For "The Golden Bough" is not a book for the anthropologist alone, though a careful study of it and the application of its principles may often serve to explain curious customs amongst uncivilized folk, which seem at first sight to be founded on nothing better than caprice, or to have grown up insensibly no one knows how. Take a case in point. In a recent work on the Lhota Nagas of Assam, published under the auspices of the Assam Government, there occurs, not once, but many times, a reference to the enforced chastity of men about to engage on some enterprise, whether of war or hunting or fishing or of some ordinary process of agriculture. The author does not attempt to explain this phenomenon, he simply records the fact. But Sir James Frazer, with his usual wealth of illustration, has drawn upon all parts of the earth to show that this custom prevails in many places and for divers reasons. "An examination," he says, "of all the many cases in which the savage bridle his passions and remains chaste from motives of superstition would be instructive." "The Golden Bough" thus gives to the student of folklore and superstitious customs the opportunity of applying to any given case the principles established by the distinguished author.

Nor is the advantage confined to the anthropologist. It may be said in all seriousness that no theological library is complete without this volume. The Church may hold to its traditions, and to ecclesiastics of a certain kidney it may seem almost sacrilege to dispute some of those incidents which have been as it were incorporated with our childhood, and yet it would be mere bigotry to ignore what Dr. Frazer has to tell us concerning such matters as the origin of Christmas and the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. So wide, too, is the net thrown that students of ancient literature can find instruction in contemplating the conclusions upon such legends as the myth of Adonis or Attis, as Osiris and the gods of Egypt.

It is a book that no library should be without. Especially should it be welcome to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, who from the probable course of their lives have been thrown into contact with things Asiatic. For if it is to Asia that we go for our religions—for all the great religions of the world—it is largely upon Asia that Sir James Frazer draws for his illustrations of the numerous customs and superstitions. Indeed, if one can quarrel at all with so much learning, it would be on the ground that evidence is piled upon evidence to an extent that almost bewilders the reader, who in the course of a single page travels from Borneo to Peru, from Peru to New Guinea, and thence, perhaps, to Bavaria or to some remote province of Russia.

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RUSSIA TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW By Paul Miliukov (*Macmillan*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Those who have taken a prominent part in great movements, and who, feeling strongly, express their opinions upon them, have this advantage over the onlooker, that they speak with intimate and detailed knowledge, and this disadvantage, that they cannot be wholly free from prejudice. M. Miliukov's book exhibits both very plainly. No one, perhaps, is better qualified than he to analyze the causes of the Revolution or to forecast the

forces which go to make up the character of the Russian people and which have played so large a part in moulding the Revolution into its present shape. At the same time one cannot resist the notion that M. Miliukov, who belongs to the Constitutional-Democratic Party, "through all four Dumas in opposition to the Tsar's Government," has taken a somewhat sombre view of the pre-Revolutionary proceedings, and has painted the Bolshevik Government in colours which, but for his own political views, might have been less black. There is, for instance, very little allowance made for the general state of Europe after the War, and if the decline in trade, the chaotic condition of the currency, and the general prostration of Russia can be charged to the Bolsheviks, it is only fair to remember that no continental country directly engaged in the War can be said to be quite free from the danger of economic collapse, and those violent convulsions such as occurred in Russia, where the wheel has gone full circle from the most absolute autocracy known to Europe to the greatest experiment yet tried in mob-rule, or can expect to escape entirely from the dislocation of finance, of trade, and of all that tends to the smooth working of society.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done, when allowances have been duly made for the partiality of the writer and for external factors, the run that the Bolsheviks have wrought is appalling—and the root of it lies in the destruction of all confidence. The system, if system it can be called, is an unorganized travesty of government, a clumsy compromise between the dictatorship of the proletariat and a recourse to the capitalist, who is, however, reminded that he is merely a tool to be thrown aside whenever it suits his masters. You cannot expect the foreigner to trade upon such terms. When there are no laws there are no courts of justice, when there are no rights of property there are no means of asserting such rights. If the sole basis of government is the entire subjection of the individual to the State, it follows that there can be no confidence, and therefore no credit as between man and man.

Many have been the prophecies that the Bolshevik régime was tottering to its fall, and every time they have been falsified. But M. Miliukov still thinks that the "Bolshevik stage of the Revolution is coming to a close," and he bases his conclusion upon "the economic exhaustion and the attitude of the population towards the present power." It is not the proceedings of the refugees, who correspond to the émigrés of France in 1789, that will bring about the change, it is rather the refusal of the peasantry to submit any longer to a tyranny which is proving itself more intolerable than ever was the Tsarist régime or the excesses of the "White" deliverers. Observers have noticed a tendency to break through the "senseless barriers" put up by the Soviet Government and to revert to a system under which men can trust one another, and there is a real and healthy incentive to work. For Bolshevism as painted by M. Miliukov—and with reservations there is no reason for refusing to accept the picture—is a travesty of government, a caricature which, if it were not so tragic, might have served as a subject for Gilbert. M. Miliukov's pages are illuminating. Let us hope that he is right and that the dark hours of Russia's night will soon pass into the dawn of peace and prosperity.

## POETRY SECTION

## WOMEN AND THE CHINESE POETS

BY T BOWEN PARTINGTON

RECENTLY there was translated some Chinese poems by Mr Waley, of the School of Oriental Studies, and his translation has aroused great enthusiasm for Chinese poetry both in America and England. The *Times Literary Supplement*, in an enthusiastic leading article, entitled "A New Planet," suggested that "as Europe at the Renaissance found its future in the literature of ancient Greece, our poets to-day may find their future in the poetry of ancient China."

Chinese literature is a rich mine, and contains a mass of diverse materials. It requires an active imagination and a keen intellect to discover uniformity in its diversity, for Chinese writers were never what one calls scientific. There is nothing definite or precise to be said about their doctrines, but they make revelations to you, if you only have the power of understanding and appreciation. Chinese poets hardly ever concern themselves with the theory of poetry, their chief principle is that as literature is the vehicle of truth, poetry should be an instrument for conveying ultimate truth—that is, the truth that would purify the character and exalt the soul. This may be called the orthodox theory, which has been set down by Confucius, and has been handed down to the present day. It is clearly defined by one great Chinese writer in the following words:

"The function of poetry is to express one's feelings, but not passions, to give voice to one's aspiration, but not desire."

Confucius has been the father of Chinese poets, looking after the manner of their poetry, but is it not a question whether they are always obedient children? When they write indecent dramas, they publish them anonymously. Thus you find famous Chinese dramas or novels with the names of the authors unknown. The Confucian system of teaching is a philosophy of moral utilitarianism. You must not do anything or say anything which is not edifying to the moral sense of the people.

This principle has a strong hold on the Chinese poets. Their attitude towards poetry is clearly described by Mr. Waley. In commenting on Po Chu-i, one of the great



Chinese poets he says "Po expounded his theory of poetry in a letter to Yaun Chen. Like Confucius, he regarded art solely as a method of conveying instruction. He is not the only great artist who has advanced this untenable theory. He accordingly valued his didactic poems far above his other work, but it is obvious that much of his best poetry conveys no moral whatever. He admits, indeed, that among his miscellaneous stanzas many were inspired by some momentary sensation or passing event. 'A single laugh and a single sigh were rapidly translated into verse'."

This is a European's view of this great Chinese poet, but it is quite correct. Nearly all Chinese poets adopt the same attitude.

Confucian principles, powerful as they are, can only affect Chinese poets in their idealistic aspect of life, while the realistic remains nature with them. They are realistic idealists and idealistic realists, if I may use such a phrase. "They have ideas, but ideas have not made them blind to things, rather they see things more vividly in the light of ideas," as the writer of "A New Planet" suggests. Their idealistic side is invariably seen in their poetry, their realistic side can only be found in their daily life. You cannot judge them by studying one side of them only—this makes the less imaginative English critic draw wrong conclusions in his criticism, while to the best critic it is a puzzle. And there is nothing more puzzling to them than the attitude of Chinese poets towards woman—that is, their attitude towards sex love.

One European critic has said that "to the European poet the relation between man and woman is a thing of supreme importance and mystery. To the Chinese it is something commonplace, obviously a need of the body, not the satisfaction of the emotions." He further affirms that it has been the habit of Europe to idealize love at the expense of friendship, and so to place too heavy a burden on the relation of man and woman. The Chinese erred in the opposite direction, he states, regarding their wives simply as instruments of procreation.

This is utterly false, and the critic has failed entirely to interpret Chinese ideas through their poetry. But what made him so fully to misunderstand the Chinese poets? It was because the Chinese poets are not out-and-out realistic—at least, in their poetry. Such love poems as you read are symbolic, no realistic love poems are to be found among them. Therefore he was led to imagine that the Chinese poets do not make love, and that their love poems are all conventional—because they do not exhibit their

passion or desire, because they do not analyze or enthuse about their emotion :

"I turn back and look at the empty room ,  
For a moment I almost think I see you there,  
One parting, but ten thousand regrets ,  
As I take my seat, my heart is unquiet  
What shall I do to tell you all my thoughts ?  
How can I let you know all my love ?

\* \* \* \* \*

All I can give you is a description of my feelings "

After all, what is love ? It is a question which has puzzled the profoundest philosopher It cannot be proved—of course, nothing worth proving could be proven It is said that "love is blind" You may call it the "blind theory of love" Well, to make love is to play with your passion or emotion or sentiment—in Meredith's words, to "fiddle harmonies on the strings of sensualism" These harmonies generally shape themselves into the form of love poetry Thus a sweet smile, a gracious glance, a soft kiss—

"Her goodly eyes like sapphire shining bright,  
Her forehead ivory white  
Her cheeks like apples which the sun had rudded,  
Her lips like cherries charming men to bite,  
Her breast like a bowl of cream uncruddled

\* \* \* \* \*

Her snowy neck like to a marble tower,  
And all her body like palace fair"

are all strings on which you would fiddle until your emotion is satisfied or has died down

"Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,  
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium ?  
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss—  
Her lips suck forth my soul , see where it flies !

\* \* \* \* \*

Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips "

What exquisite harmonies are produced by these strings—the kiss and the lips of Helen—through Marlowe's fiddling. If you deny the truth of them you deny the function of poetry But just ask—Is there actually heaven in these lips ? You lost your soul in your passion , but you say her lips have sucked it forth and fled away Such as the above is the general trend of European love poetry The Chinese, however, would not pretend to be like that They pose as if they were above such frivolity—certainly they are above it in their poetry, because Confucius tells them not to be

frivolous Accordingly they value ultimate truth higher than the momentary satisfaction of the emotions They place the claim for the satisfaction of the soul on one side of the scale and that of the senses on the other—and the former always seems to weigh heavier in the kingdom of their poetry In their actual daily life they are actually jolly good fellows They can and do appreciate what you call the “soft torment, the bitter sweets, the pleasing pains, and the agreeable distress,” as does everybody else But they do not make a fuss about them in poetry, they enjoy them in the quiet light of daily life, not in the searching glare of poetry In their poetry love is symbolic the harmony of the soul Here is a poem written by a Chinese general to his wife

“Since our hair was plaited, and we became man and wife,  
The love between us was never broken by doubt,  
So let us be merry this night together,  
Feasting and playing while the good time lasts,  
I suddenly remember the distance that I must travel,  
I spring from bed and look out to see the time  
The stars and planets are all grown dim in the sky,  
Long, long is the road, I cannot stay,  
I am going on service, away to the battle-ground,  
And I do not know when I shall come back,  
I hold your hand with only a deep sigh,  
Afterwards, tears—in the days when we are parted.  
With all your might enjoy the spring flowers,  
But do not forget the time of our love and pride  
Know that if I live, I will come back again,  
And if I die, we will go on thinking of each other ”

Can anyone detect any passion in these lines? In circumstances like this, one would expect to see them kissing and embracing, but this does not happen in the poem They probably did so, but the poet would not put that into his poetry The absence of kisses and embraces in Chinese poetry make some think that the Chinese have no emotion, and in the above poem, for instance, the general regards his wife simply as an instrument of procreation

But in fact, if you read some Chinese novels or such poems as cannot bear the searching light of Confucian principles, you will find the Chinese are as love-blind as any European. I remember a number of verses that are probably more realistic than even the most extravagant English love poetry. They are too delicate to be tackled here, and one can hardly render them into English without losing their poetical effect.

One distinction I am tempted to draw between the European and Chinese in their attitude towards women. The Chinese considers the passion and feeling of the woman more than his own, whereas the European values his own emotion more than that of the woman. To the Chinese, the woman really becomes a being superior to man, he admires her because she is angelic to him. To the European, the woman is angelic simply because he admires her, because her beauty has aroused his emotion. The European poet tends to exhibit himself in a romantic light, in fact, to recommend himself as a lover. The Chinese poet has a tendency different, but analogous. He recommends himself as a friend.

Why does he recommend himself as a friend, but not as a lover? It is because he is concerned less with his own passion or emotion than with that of the woman, because he holds her in higher esteem. It is not that he is less romantic. In fact, his view of woman is as fanatical as that of the European.

The author of one of the most brilliant Chinese novels—of which Professor Giles, Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, gives a good account, and many of the poems of which are rendered into English in his "*History of Chinese Literature*"—describes his hero in the following words:

"He was a bright and clever fellow and full of fun, but very averse to books. He declared, in fact, that he could not read at all unless he had a fellow-student, a young lady, on each side of him to keep his brain clear, and, when his father beat him, as was frequently the case, he would cry out, "Dear girl! dear girl!" all the time, in order, as he afterwards explained to his cousins, to take away the pain. Woman, he argued, was made of water, with pellucid, mobile mind, while men are made of mud—mere lumps of uninformed clay."

Such is the author's notion of woman—of course, just a bit of sentimental rubbish. Yet this book is widely read and admired by Chinese scholars. It was published under a false name, though the author is known to many. But it shows that the Chinese poets know how to play with their emotion as fancifully as any English poet. And I am inclined to say that they play in a rather refined manner. If they do not write sentimental love poetry, it is because they refrain from doing so on principle, not because they cannot appreciate the "satisfaction of emotion," still less because they hold women—as European critics assert—as "mere instruments of procreation."

## EDUCATIONAL SECTION

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### THE INDIAN STUDENT\*

BY JOHN POLLEN, C I E

IT may fairly be claimed that it was mainly owing to Sir Charles Elliot, then a Member of the E I A Council, that some amelioration in the conditions surrounding the Indian student in 1907 was attempted

Unfortunately, other counsels prevailed, but had his advice then been taken there would perhaps have been no necessity for the committee over which Lord Lytton lately presided, and which is the subject of this review. In effect all that the latter committee ultimately recommends is the abandonment of most of the conclusions of its predecessor, and the graceful closing of the well-meant, but unfortunately somewhat official, Hostel at 21, Cromwell Road. Virtually Lord Lytton's committee now proposes to follow the course which the East India Association originally ventured to suggest, and that course is that (as in the case of other students) the care of Indian students should, where needed, be entrusted to private friends and institutes without the shadow of any official or quasi-official organization whatever! Years ago it was found that, rightly or wrongly, "officialdom" had become in the eyes of the Indian student a "deadly taint," and that, for some reason, or no reason, the India Office had become for them a thing to be avoided. This attitude was certainly one to be deplored, and every effort was made to remedy matters and restore right

\* Report of the Committee on Indian Students, 1921-22 (dated September 14, 1922), and the Report of the Indian Students' Department, 1921-22

feeling But distrust and suspicion, once created, are not easily overcome, and with the unwise suppression of the Lee-Warner Report these feelings increased, and the advisory committees and other measures devised and sustained by the India Office became more and more unpopular amongst certain classes of Indian students These, like British collegiate youths, probably expected their undergraduate days to be the freest and most unhampered in their lives, and were therefore intolerant of control of any sort or description whatever Long ago much of this was foreseen, and with the encouragement of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Sir Lepel Griffin, and other kind friends who knew India and understood Indian students well, Dr Leitner—the Principal of the Lahore College and a Member of the East India Association—established a guest-house for Indians at Maybury, and founded an institute there For some time this scheme went well, but subsequently (it is said from want of due support) it fell through Indian students, however, still continued to come to England, and I was able to testify from personal experience that Homesh Chunder Dutt, Bihari Lal Gupta, and many who went up for the open competition in 1869-71 and in subsequent years, were steady, hard-working students, and that better-behaved sons no parent could desire to have

Later on, in subsequent years, I was able to assert from personal observation that, on the whole, the tone of the Indian students at the Temples was in every way worthy of the best traditions of the ancient Inns Most of the Indians met there were “self-respecting youths who expected to be respected, and were respected, by their fellow-students” Some were certainly not free from what Lord Ampthill calls “the fantastic ambitions of youth,” but Mr Thorburn has rightly contended that “every broad-minded and reasonable Englishman must sympathize with the reasonable aspirations of their Indian fellow-subjects”—and many of the aspirations of these Indian students were reasonable enough, and commanded sympathy This was true of the students on the whole, but there can be little doubt that, in some cases,

immature youths from India were compelled, both to their own and their parents' loss, to come over to England—

- (1) To get called to the Bar , or
- (2) To get into the Civil Service , or
- (3) To obtain proper technical and commercial education in Great Britain for business careers

This ought not to have been so, and Lord Lytton's committee has done well in giving prominence to the necessity for the adoption of remedial measures in India, and more especially in expressing approval of Lord Haldane's suggestion with regard to the desirability of establishing an Indian Bar in India itself. The establishment of such a Bar is one of the crying wants of the Great Peninsula, and there can be little doubt that provision for such a Bar should have been made long ago.

It is, however, true that the whole elaborate and expensive English judicial system was suddenly imposed by the self-satisfied West upon the reluctant and unprepared East, and there are many who even now hold that the complicated and extravagant High Court and Civil Court systems, with their horde of barristers and "hungry scriveners" (though comparatively harmless in the big towns), are quite unsuited to the vast country-side and to rural India. But, be that as it may, it must be admitted that it was, and is, quite unnecessary, and even a great mistake, to compel the youth of India to come over to this country to qualify at the Inns of Court, in order chiefly to take precedence over men who, as pleaders or vakils, know more of the laws and traditions of their native land than English barristers, and who are more intelligible in all courts (except in the High Courts, where English judges of the ordinary barrister type have never taken the trouble to learn the language of the land). Further, in common fairness to India, it must be admitted by all clear-minded critics that simultaneous examinations and the highest technical and commercial training and education ought to have been provided in India itself long years ago. Had such reforms been introduced earlier, India's sons would not have been compelled to

hurry over to England or abroad in the way they have done, and the need for India Office interference, and for the official "Lee-Warner" and the present "Lord Lytton" committees, with their long reports, could hardly have arisen. But, things being as they are, the great question is, What should now be done? And it would seem that in all the circumstances of the case the various Governments of India cannot do better than follow strictly the suggestions of Lord Lytton's committee. The members of this committee are quite right about the folly of attempting the resuscitation of the somewhat futile advisory committee. Such a committee is no longer required, and the High Commissioner himself, as the servant of the Indian peoples, should be amply able to see to the interests of the students, and to attend to all those persons whom he directly and indirectly represents, just as other High Commissioners for Dominions do.

If grants-in-aid are necessary, he can get them from the proper sources, and can obtain all needful information and directions from the Indian Legislatures who are responsible to the Indian communities. The India Office itself should not, of course, be called upon to interfere in any way as of old Hospitality and entertainment should, as Lord Lytton's committee very properly advises, be spontaneous and independent, and private friends and Indian parents and guardians, in unison with Indian universities and the High Commissioner's office, should be left to negotiate, when necessary, directly or indirectly, with universities and training colleges and trading or manufacturing concerns in Great Britain or her Colonies or elsewhere. As long ago as in 1908 it was foretold by speakers at a meeting of the East India Association that any movement to bring Indian students even indirectly under the seeming control of the India Office would be a mere "mechanical remedy" for the evils then feared, and this view has been amply confirmed by the conclusions and recommendations of Lord Lytton's committee. They took far-reaching evidence on the subject, and held meetings at universities and colleges in all parts of the country, and even dipped, in a fragmentary



manner, into India itself, and consulted all kinds of representatives (as the voluminous evidence attached to their report indicates), and their conclusions, although termed by themselves "tentative," ought, in the interests of all concerned, to be regarded as final. Amongst other things, it is pleasant to note that the committee cannot support the allegations that race prejudice against Indian students is at all general in the United Kingdom, but at the same time that they recognize the obligation of Government to assist Indian students to secure admission to British universities "so long as the methods or conditions of recruitment to the Indian public services involve any necessity for study outside India."

Indeed, from a report we have just received, dated July 26, 1922, on the Indian Students' Department for 1921-22, submitted for the information of the High Commissioner, it would appear that Government had in some measure already anticipated some of the recommendations of Lord Lytton's committee. For it would seem that what was once the Students' Department had "*in its full activities*" been transferred to the High Commissioner for India.<sup>1</sup> This report may therefore be regarded as a report by the High Commissioner to the High Commissioner himself on the working of the Department for which he himself is now responsible to India. The report is somewhat roseate in hue. All facilities possible have been afforded to overseas students, and no difficulty has been found in securing admission for the duly qualified graduate, while careful and sympathetic consideration has been accorded to all concerned.

But parents and guardians in India are warned that they should take care to make proper preliminary arrangements. Excellent reports, too, are given of the ability and industry of Indian students, and of the interest they take in the social life of their surroundings. Further, wherever these students have been in any way handicapped by the lack of practical facilities, it was found that "*the question of race and nationality was rarely a factor in the refusals received*." On every side there was evidence on the part of professors and lecturers of a

general readiness and goodwill to do all that was possible to smooth away the difficulties lying in the path of young students who had come so far across the seas, and to make them feel thoroughly at home in their environment. On the other hand, it was distinctly encouraging to learn that the Indian students on their side were showing "by their more active participation in games, and in all the various social activities that go to the making of student life in this country, that they were doing their best to get the utmost possible value from their university education." It was further found that Indian students everywhere were identifying themselves much more than heretofore with the common and corporate life of the colleges. It was necessary, however, to draw the attention of parents and guardians to the failure, in some cases, to send regular remittances, and also "to the very urgent necessity for avoiding inevitable waste of time and money, unless students pass an intermediate Arts and Science examination in India." The High Commissioner himself seems, during the year, to have gone to Oxford and Cambridge, discussing questions concerning Indian students with heads of colleges and professors. He also visited various clubs, and gave suitable addresses, and Mr Sen, one of his joint secretaries, seems to have done admirable work for Indian students on his visit to India, and to have had encouraging interviews with the Earl of Lytton, Governor of Bengal, and the Earl of Reading, Viceroy of India. He seems to have impressed upon them both, and upon all concerned, the unfortunate lack in India itself of satisfactory facilities for obtaining public-school education of the best type—"a lack which necessitated the coming over to Great Britain of so many boys at an early age." This sad lack has been frequently deplored by the East India Association, and it is to be hoped that it will receive due consideration from the High Commissioner in Great Britain, and from the various governing bodies in India. If this lack can be somehow remedied the labours of Lord Lytton's able committee will not have been undertaken in vain.

## ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

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### THE JAPANESE COLOUR-PRINTS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM A COMPARISON

BY W GILES

ALTHOUGH the present exhibition does not add materially to our knowledge of the Japanese colour-print, a given period treated more exhaustively has a greater instructive value than a permanent but limited exhibit would otherwise have

The period under review belongs to the close of the eighteenth century, when the figure was the vogue, landscape began tentatively as a background, as was the case in Italian art. Although landscape came late in the evolution of the Japanese colour-print, it occupied a glorious place in the early history of Chinese and Japanese painting.

Colour-prints were a popular and inexpensive expression of the people's art, and were first utilized as posters for the theatre, and devoted exclusively to actors in character. They appealed to the merchant and the peasant, and, catering to their diversions, came under the anathema of the classical painters, who belonged to the priestly caste.

This democratic art was designated the Ukiyoye—the mirror or picture of the world's mirage. Nevertheless, the colour-prints developed, and ultimately had, and are having, an enormous influence on Western art, the fact is realized, but the complex causes are not

In the first place, they are a compromise between their own classic art of the past and a modern realization. Their intercourse with the Dutch traders had made the sea-coast no longer their horizon, but the highway to a world beyond.

A painting, in the central case, of a European soldier by

Skiba Kokan in Japanese armour against an architectural background, in our own classical style with a dado decoration in Japanese, is a glaring instance, on the angle column a Dutch clock is hung!

Skiba Kokan was a pioneer in several respects—he not only had an archæological passion for European motives, but for our techniques—he experimented in both copperplate engraving and oil-painting, and all are equally bad—Skiba Kokan never had followers so wholehearted and incongruous as himself, yet the Dutch traditions permeated amongst the people, whose hearts were set upon a future rather than the past, perspective and realism were becoming facts, and the landscape prints by Hiroshige we so appreciate as examples of true Japanese art have been made more palatable to our taste than we generally suppose.

Since those days East and West can scarcely accuse each other of plagiarism, slowly as we understand the reciprocal lure, is our education in art advanced, and each was trying to enrich its art with something it lacked.

In the æsthetics of colour these prints gave us a grammar of the decorative, they had a charm in common with the Italian frescoes—the silk-like paper of the one was a counterpart of the mellow-toned plaster of the other which contributed so considerably to enhance the luminous colours of both. The lesson which only the travelled few had learnt, with the advent of the print, came to be universally understood.

The domination of chiaroscuro darkness, the art of Rembrandt and the Dutch, was broken, colour for colour's sake began to exert an ever-increasing influence.

Our study of comparison is made more easy because on the walls adjacent to these colour-prints are hung examples of the work of our own contemporary water-colour painters—J. Cozens and T. Girtin.

The Japanese democratic school was trying to express its aspirations as the English water-colourists were emerging from the thralldom of the topographical draughtsmen to the freedom of a new and living art—landscape-painting, which demanded

new art canons entirely distinct from the accepted rules laid down by the academic studio traditions

Both were forced to ignore the past. The Japanese, reproducing the every-day life around them, appealed to the masses and not the rich but limited few, and the print was an economic factor and a boon while simplicity was a necessity

To the English water-colourist transparent pigments meant purer and more luminous colour, and this slowly educated us to depreciate the heavy and black oil-paintings which, suitable as they may have been for portraits, were entirely unsuitable for atmospheric outdoor effects

It is true that in the early water-colours by Cozens we see neither dignity of tone nor glamour of colour, nor is there a sense of decoration, only a dumb appreciation of Nature

In the water-colours of Girtin a consciousness of the dramatic and decorative dawn, there is a soul born of atmospheric change

Such was the state of our English school when Japan was producing such colour-prints as are here exhibited

It will be noted that the majority of these figure prints have no backgrounds; also that the figures are mere outline supports upon which kimonos or brocaded garments are draped in rhythmic masses, deprived of the colours which belong exclusively to the kimonos—there is absolutely no colour

They resolve themselves into a patterning distributed harmoniously over a vertical plane, devoid of either depth or perspective. The choice of colours was only limited by the pigments at their command, and these they interchanged in kaleidoscopic intricacy. Gradually landscape was introduced as additional masses of colour subordinate to the figures. When landscapes were desired exclusively for their own sake, brocaded garments were not substituted by flowering plants or such-like accessories, landscape had to justify itself along independent lines, and this was accomplished in the beginning of the next century. We will rapidly review the prints down to this time. Most persons are vaguely familiar with the

characteristics of individual artists, the elegant and lithe grace of one, or the deliberate line of another. Masses of black were used for an æsthetic end, thus, in two prints the black mass of the kimono in one is the counterpart of a black sky in the other. Carefully inspecting the one, we see that the black sky symbolizes night, but not in the other—objective truth as we understand it is ignored, and in spite of it they have an undeniable beauty.

In the prints by Shunman a restricted treatment of *chiaroscuro* effect is employed with the introduction of three tone-printings of Chinese ink, the darkest being the modulated black outline, reminiscent of a brush-stroke spontaneity, the texture detail has a charm of its own independent of colour, especially in the print of the Tamagawa River. The supplementary colours are quite a secondary consideration, one should compare this print with a painting by him in the central case.

These tone-printings in Chinese ink were rarely used in colour-prints, neither a modulated black outline.

Utamaro, who stands out as a supreme colourist, reduced his black line almost to the point of invisibility, and concentrated on the full glory of the colour, note his "Six Poets," also his books in colour of plants and birds, remarkable for their refined drawing and tender colour.

The fragile outline was the general practice with the colour-print artists. Should we try to define the pigments they used, we should find ourselves thinking of the bloom on flower or fruit or some elusive mineral hue, yet the average number of pigments employed are few and seldom exceed eight, printed either in flat tones or graduated brush-washes, secondary colour was never dropped into these liquid washes, as in the case of a series of Chinese colour-prints of fruit and flower pieces shown in a former exhibit. This would demand a more consummate skill on the part of the printer, and here it should be pointed out that every colour-print was the production of three distinct men—the artist, the wood-block-maker, and the printer.

Before we reach the close of the eighteenth century we see that landscape is being freely introduced as a background, as in Kiyonaga's "Pleasure-Party," for example, with its distant and dark-green island rock

The well-known landscape prints by Hiroshige belong to the next century and are contemporary with the English water-colours exhibited by John Cotman

Distinct as these two artists are, they have much in common, each realized the importance of a schematic and decorative choice of colour. In truth, colour and tone are antagonistic—tone is the negation of light and colour. Hiroshige was happy in having those virgin colours which had an inherent beauty high up in the chromatic scale, whereas Cotman was low down among the siennas and the browns, the heavy inheritance of the oil-painters. Yet out of these Cotman revealed himself a true colourist in his supreme abstractions—golden ochres set like a jewel in a field of blue, or mellow greens locked in transparent browns. It is true he had to hover around the sunset-hour, when gloom and shadow is enshrouding all with an added passion of chiaroscuro, born of storm and change. His "Lincolnshire Mill" shows what he might have given us in colour-prints had he only known the Japanese technique.

Hiroshige soars in his noonday iridescence of light lemon yellows, sky-blues, amethysts, violets, and greens of emerald and malachite. Japanese colour charm approaches a glory of local colour, bathed in a steady mellow light, there is no mystery, all is manifest, while the print reduces all things to precise terms. Landscape demands depth and a mystery of receding planes. Cotman in his painting merged his planes with shade, yet he saw powerfully in silhouettes and planes of rhythmic mass and cohesion.

With Hiroshige the landscape in the Japanese colour-print died, in England it was not yet born. Turner had not shown us in his exquisite water-colours the iridescent heights of the chromatic scale.

## WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS *East India Association—The London Brahmo Somaj—The Indian Women of To day—The Persia Society—The Near and Middle Eastern Association—Save the 'Victory' Fund*

The East India Association will hold a conversazione on the afternoon of Tuesday, January 16, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Their next lecture will be on "The Present and Future Management of Indian Railways," by Sir Robert Gillan. Sir John P. Hewitt, G C I E, M P, will take the chair.

### THE LONDON BRAHMO SOMAJ

The celebration in London of the birthday anniversary of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen took place at 21, Cromwell Road, on Sunday, November 19. An interesting address of personal reminiscences was given by Mr Bhupendranath Basu. He knew Keshub in India before his death in 1884, and said that those who came under his personal influence could never forget his charm, his dignity, and his simplicity. He founded the Church of the New Dispensation, the basis of which simply is the belief in God. He made his followers realize the purity and loftiness and high moral value of the old Hindu teachings, and sought to bring about a reconciliation between Hinduism and Christianity and Islam. He preached the education and emancipation of women, and won back to a purer social life the youth of Bengal, who were being led to copy the less desirable features of European life.

Mr Arthur Diosy's memory went back to 1870, when he heard Keshub Chunder Sen speak in London on the work of Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Somaj. a discourse, said Mr Diosy, fascinating in subject, delivered in admirable language and perfect English, and with great personal charm. The religious influence of the Somaj had had very great effect on most movements of social advance in India during the last half-century. Europeans had not given the support to it they should—they failed to understand the importance of the reform of Hinduism from within. He drew a comparison with Japan, whose growth had been marked by a considered process of selection from the West—they have not adopted, but adapted.

Mrs Rustomji Fardonji, speaking from the Zoroastrian point of view, felt that all religions are one, with the same fundamental belief in God. the modern movement among men and women towards spiritual understanding will some day make the whole world one great brotherhood.

Professor S N Roy, of Lucknow, and Mr Nirmal C Sen also spoke, and Bengali hymns and songs from Rabindranath Tagore were rendered by Miss Mallick.



## THE INDIAN WOMEN OF TO-DAY

At a recent meeting held under the auspices of the Sesame Club, Dr Kate Platt, after referring to the extraordinary advance made in late years by the nations of the Far East, said that it is of the utmost importance that we, as a nation, should regain the confidence of India. The impassable barrier that is said to exist between the East and the West exists perhaps mainly in the imagination and is based on a lack of comprehension and sympathy. We Englishwomen have in the past not done our part in attempting to break down this intangible barrier. The qualities of pride and shyness, conspicuous in both nations, though manifested in different ways, and, in the case of the Indian, accompanied by undue sensitiveness to criticism, have come in the way of a mutual understanding, and the women have never got to really know each other. It may be that the key to the situation is in the hands of the women. Understanding, arising from knowledge, will enable each to appreciate the qualities of the other.

Indian women have fine traditions of devotion, courage, and ability. They have not always been "behind the curtain" long years of life in seclusion have, however, developed in them certain qualities which supplement and render more effective the actions of the men. Though the modern educated Indian women are of varied race and religion, patriotism is in one and all a dominating motive. They may not, as yet, often be seen or heard in the political world, but many are quietly preparing themselves to take a leading part in the destinies of their country. Their eloquence and enthusiasm, combined with charm, make them most attractive as public speakers, though their most lovable qualities come out in domestic life. As friends and co-workers, Indian women of the best type are very desirable, as allies of our enemies they are formidable, and their influence is not to be underestimated. In conclusion, Dr Platt urged that every Englishwoman coming into contact with her Indian sisters, either at home or in India, should do her utmost to sink all racial distinctions and by emphasizing common interests, really get to know them; that, in doing this, she will not only obtain pleasure and satisfaction, but will be helping in the unification of the Empire.

On November 28 Major-General Sir Edmond Ironside delivered an important lecture before the *Persia Society* at Burlington House. He explained that when he took over from General Champain in the autumn of 1920, he found that the British Minister at Teheran was under the Foreign Office, the Political Agent under the Colonial Office, and the Persia Force under the Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia, who in turn was under the War Office! The lecturer also threw light on the military condition of the Cossacks. Their officers were Czarists of the old Imperial Army, and were apt to advance too impetuously. As their presence encouraged the war like plans of the Bolsheviks it was decided to disband them. After their departure the evacuation could be performed more methodically. The General paid a special tribute to the Indian units under his command and the work of Colonel Lakin on L.O.C.

In the subsequent discussion General Champain pointed out that whilst

he was in command he had yet another Government department which furnished him with instructions—viz., the India Office! Commodore Norris, who was in charge of the ships operating in the Caspian Sea, expressed his belief that the defence of Persia was really a naval problem connected with the command of the mouth of the Volga where enemy supplies could be stopped.

This meeting was, in the absence of Lord Lamington, presided over by Sir Hugh Barnes.

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Mr Felix Valy, in lecturing before the Near and Middle Eastern Association on December 12 on "The Reform of Islam and the Turkish Problem," said "Before the War, hatred of Christianity had practically died out among intellectual Mussulmans, and if the moral direction of the West is now contested by thinking Mussulmans, the fault lies with those who failed to capture and retain the youthful Mussulman enthusiasm which was ready to be guided by the West.

"A lasting reform cannot be made under European pressure, and it must be derived from a strong and independent Mussulman nation. Fundamentally, the present French attitude is a resumption of the ideas of the Englishman, David Urquhart (1830-1860), which Beaconsfield could not bring about, owing to the opposition of Gladstone.

"The reform of Islam can only come from a Mussulman nation, the prestige of which is intact in the eyes of all Islam, and the independence of which is guaranteed by its own force and its own institutions. Those who affirm that Islam is rigid in its dogmas, and that every effort is condemned which tends to free the stereotyped traditions which conform but little to the exigencies of modern life, forget that the thesis of an immobile Islam has never been true, that for all time Islam has been helped by all the movements of historical ideas. Its jurisprudence, which is to be reformed to-day, discloses the influence of Roman law. Its development of dogma is earmarked by Greek ideas, and its philosophy shows the appropriation of current neo-Platonic and Indian ideas.

"The Turks are a political race *par excellence*. For centuries they have been the intermediary between East and West—long before Japan—and are essential to Near Eastern equilibrium and to that between East and West. For economic reasons, however, the Turk can no longer refrain from reorganizing his social, judicial, and financial institutions, his agriculture, and his methods of general culture. Europe, however, must remain neutral in this struggle of the new Mussulman forces in this effort to adapt their institutions to modern principles. The Angora Assembly is not the last stage in Turkish evolution."

In the subsequent discussion speeches were made by Sir Thomas Arnold and Prince Soumbatoff.

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We have been invited to give the publicity of our columns to the following appeal:

The *Victory* was Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar. It was in her that the great Admiral conducted the wonderful campaigns which saved Britain.

from invasion. It was in her that he proclaimed the deathless message of "Duty," and received his mortal wound

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Financial stringency precludes the Government from voting money except for immediate necessities. The value of the *Victory* is no transitory thing. She must be preserved in order that our children's children may draw from her the same inspiration that we have drawn ourselves, and our fathers before us.

The Society for Nautical Research has been authorized by the Admiralty to appeal for funds to save this noble ship and to restore her, so far as money will permit, to her condition at Trafalgar.

As President of the Society, I am quite sure that I shall not appeal in vain to the countrymen of Nelson, for they have made this watchword "Duty" their invariable guide ever since the call first flew at the masthead of H M S *Victory*.

F C D STURDEE,

Admiral of the Fleet

Subscriptions will be received and personally acknowledged by Admiral of the Fleet Sir F C Doveton Sturdee, Bart, G C B, K C M G, C V O, LL D, *Victory* Offices, 233, High Holborn, W C 1, or they may be paid to all Branches and Agents of the London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

The Right Hon Reginald McKenna (late First Lord of the Admiralty), Chairman of the London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd, has kindly consented to act as Hon Treasurer to the Fund.

On October 28, 1918, the Czecho-Slovak nation recovered its independence after three hundred years of oppressive Hapsburg rule, and the fourth thanksgiving service was celebrated on Sunday afternoon, October 29, at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road. Among those present were H E Dr V Mastny (Minister) and Madame Mastny, Consul Dr Pavlasek, Professor and Mrs Seton-Watson, Professor Caldwell (Toronto), Mr F P Marchant, Dr Vocadlo (King's College), Mrs B O Tufnell (Anglo-Czech Society), and many others. Prayers and the lesson (Isa. lxi.) were read in English and Czech by the Rev T Hunter Boyd (Presbyterian Church in Canada) and the Rev T B Kaspar. Mlle Tonci Urbankova and M Muscha Leon sang sacred solos in the native language. An address was given by the Rev Dr W C Poole, Minister, on the principles of real democracy. A collection was taken for child-welfare work in Czecho-Slovakia. The service concluded with the British and Czech national anthems.





# *The* **BEACON**

Edited by E R APPLETON

**T**HE BEACON is an organ of life. It heralds an awakening of creative energy and intellectual beauty. It believes that the twentieth century can and must be made a brighter epoch spiritually and materially, than any that have gone before. Only so can the sacrifice of the war and the adventure of civilization be made worth while. Any movement that tends to further a better understanding between East and West will receive special attention. Believing that with more knowledge would come ever increasing mutual sympathy, THE BEACON is starting a monthly Indian section. In this every kind of subject likely to be of interest both to Indians and to English people attracted by the study of India will be treated. Art, literature, education, religion, social conditions in India, will all receive attention, and it is hoped that short stories and poems by Indians will sometimes be included. In short, THE BEACON wants to help English people to know more about India, and Indians about England, for if the East has a good deal to learn from the West, the West has also much to learn from the East.

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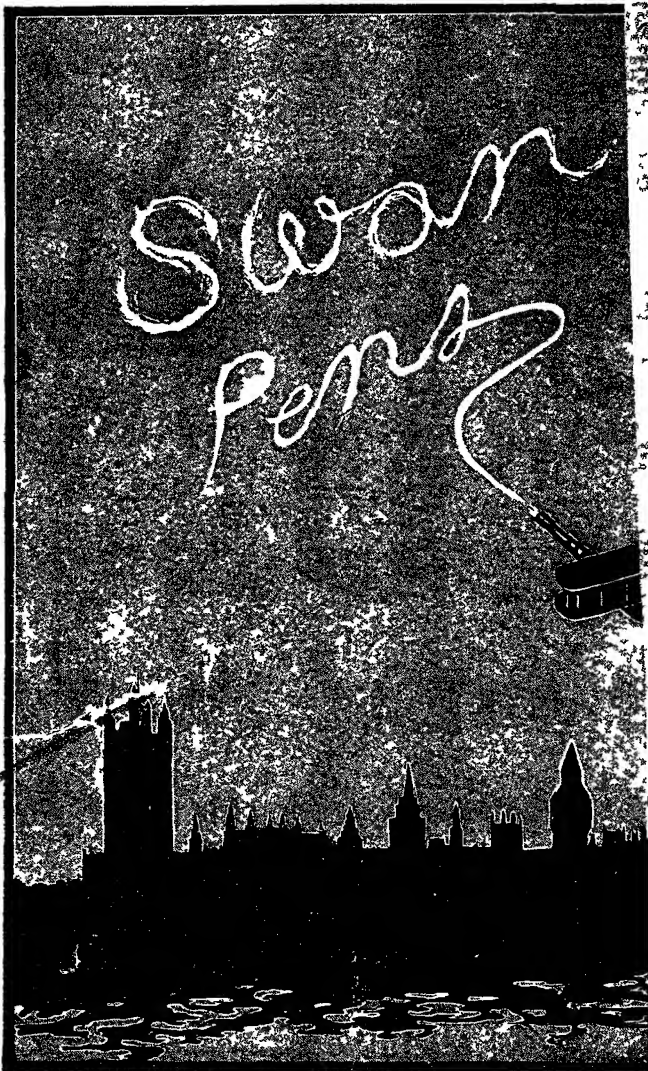
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